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Exceptions and Exceptionalism: The United States Soccer Football Association in a Global Context, 1950–74

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Exceptions and Exceptionalism: The United States Soccer Football Association in a Global Context, 1950–74

by

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Dedication

Αφιερωμένο στους γονείς μου.

Acknowledgements

When I first began my dissertation, little did I know that I would be spending so much time in basement-level archives. My research took me to four cities and two countries, where I frantically sifted through a rich collection of materials – many of them unexplored. There was lots of dust. But better to dwell on the good (I'm told), and for that, I am indebted to a number of people.

Thomas Hunt has been an adviser, a mentor, and a friend from the first. He has taught me to ask big questions and think big picture – and a number of themes that emerge here were inspired by his globalization seminar during my first semester at Texas. In the years since, he has encouraged me to trust my intuition, to balance artistic flair with analytical rigor, and to pursue my research interests, however much they may have differed from his own. His extensive feedback throughout the various phases of this project is far more than what I could have asked of him. For that – and for his support in countless other ways – I am deeply humbled and ever grateful.

I'm not sure whether I should first thank Jan Todd for what she has done for me personally or for the field of sport history more broadly. That a program like the one at Texas exists is due to her passion and dedication. When I completed my undergraduate work seven years ago, little had I imagined that I could turn a personal interest into a scholarly pursuit. Jan also taught me the importance of writing history with a view to the human aspect; the emergence of several personalities in the story that follows is in many a way the result of her counseling.

My other committee members have been patient and supportive throughout the dissertation process, taking time from their busy schedules to offer insight and advice. Thanks to Matt Bowers for helping me convey a story in matters of writing and beyond. He has been a willing sounding board for this and other projects. John Hoberman provided conceptual guidance at a key juncture in the dissertation's evolution. His questions helped me clarify, in my own mind, what it was that I was trying to say. Paul Dimeo lent football expertise and a deft touch in helping me frame the project. My thanks to them all.

Thanks are also due to Christopher Brown, who read a completed version of this work and assisted in tying several ideas together; Rodrigo Jacquin, whose knowledge of football is beyond encyclopedic; and Tolga Ozyurtcu, who helped with elements both theoretical and stylistic, and provided sage advice throughout the previous four years.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the access granted to me by the United States Soccer Federation. My thanks to Amy Hopfinger and Greg Fike, who coordinated my research trips to Hillsborough, North Carolina, and Chicago, Illinois. At the former, I am grateful for Cheryl Parker's help in navigating the labyrinthine holdings of the national body's hall of fame. At Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, Steve Kerber was as helpful as he was kind. I would not have known where to begin my research at FIFA if not for Xavier Breuil's insightful talk at Hofstra University. Dominik Petermann was a tremendous help before, during, and after my stay in Zurich, providing access to materials and patiently responding to my many questions.

My thanks, as well, to several individuals who assisted with material from archives I did not have the chance to visit: at Heart of Midlothian Football Club, Clare Cowan and David Speed, the latter of whom was generous enough to share his personal recollections of a June's day at Tynecastle Park; at Swem Library at the College of William and Mary, Ute Schechter and Eileen O'Toole; and at Yale University Library, Bill Landis. I also owe particular thanks to those in the Interlibrary Services division at the University of Texas Libraries, who tracked down materials with swiftness and politeness. I am grateful for the help of Richard Scott of the Canadian Soccer Association and Mark Wylie of the Manchester United Football Museum for helping me get my facts straight. My gratitude, too, to Andreas Matzakos and the Hellenic Professional Society of Texas for their generous support.

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Finally, I am indebted to my parents, Elizabeth and Nicholas Kioussis, for years of love and support. They showed me the importance of thinking freely, of asking questions, and of keeping one's commitments. They also encouraged me to take a broad array of interests and ensured I had the outlets in which to pursue them, even when it meant putting themselves secondary. My mother has always been my first and last reader and helped my writing become… good. My father has been a source of wisdom, academic and otherwise; he was also the source for my learning a simple but beautiful pastime: kicking a ball.

Preface

The seeds of this project were sown five years ago at Northwestern University, as I sought a topic for my master's thesis. I made early plans to write a cultural analysis of football's place in American society during the Cold War, inspired by the pointed rhetoric of Congressman Jack Kemp. As a resolution of support for the American bid to host the 1986 World Cup came to the floor of the House of Representatives, the former gridiron star strayed into a diatribe about the document's chosen wording. His assurances that he was speaking "with some tongue in cheek" did little to dispel the general sense of petulance:

> In the resolution it is spelled f-o-o-t, football, and I think it is important that for all of those young people out there, who some day hope to play real football, where you throw it and kick it and run with it and put it in your hands, a distinction should be made that football is democratic, capitalism, whereas soccer is a European socialist –

Realizing his faux pas, he paused and composed himself. "I am going to have to revise and extend my remarks," he sulked. "I do not think I want to leave this on the Record."[1]

Sadly, Kemp would not provide further insight for the time being. Others, however, took it upon themselves to fill in the conceptual gaps. "Jack was just having a little fun with economic theory and sports, as he always does," noted an aide in an interview with the *Boston Globe*. "He believes that football is entrepreneurial capitalism, it has a quarterback, someone who is in charge, while soccer is based more on the European socialist tradition: no one's in command, it's more of a sharing, cooperative

[1] 129 Cong. Rec. 10764 (1983).

game."[2] One *Globe* reader offered a more straightforward explanation: "The simple truth is that soccer's popularity is predominant in socialist, portsided, or communist domains."[3] Others remained less than convinced. "If soccer's socialist because it stresses sharing the ball, what's basketball?" asked journalist David Nyhan. "Is the Basketball Hall of Fame some kind of secret pinko shrine?"[4] Gerry Studds, a congressman from Massachusetts, registered his "abject disbelief" at Kemp's musings, calling them a "challenging intellectual concept."[5]

I concurred and, my interest sufficiently piqued, looked elsewhere for answers. My search eventually led me to a Stephen Moore piece for the *National Review*, which built upon the aforementioned rationale. "Soccer is the Marxist concept of the labor theory of value applied to sports – which may explain why socialist nations dominate in the World Cup," posited Moore. "The purpose of a capitalist economy is to produce the maximum output for the least amount of exertion. Soccer requires huge volumes of effort but produces no output."[6] Kemp, for his part, waited some two decades before elaborating upon his congressional polemic. His quip, apparently, had to do with the beautiful game's collectivist ethos after all.[7]

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[2] David Nyhan, "The Old Quarterback Doesn't Approve of That Other Football Game," *Boston Globe*, May 12, 1983, Sam T.N. Foulds Collection (hereafter SFC), United States Soccer Federation Library and Hall of Fame (hereafter LHOF).
[3] Michael J. Caruso, letter to the editor, *Boston Globe*, May 31, 1983, SFC, LHOF.
[4] Nyhan, "The Old Quarterback Doesn't Approve of That Other Football Game."
[5] 129 Cong. Rec. 10765 (1983).
[6] Stephen Moore, "Soccer-Mom Hell," *National Review*, May 4, 1998, 42.
[7] Jack Kemp, "What I Really Think About Soccer," *Human Events*, June 20, 2006, http://www.humanevents.com/2006/06/20/what-i-really-think-about-soccer.

That much of the anti-football rhetoric seems to come from the conservative right – Glenn Beck and Ann Coulter have been contemporary fountains – prompted me to mull over the relationship among sport, politics, and ideology.[8] Within the context of the Cold War, American political culture was implicated by the struggle against communism, evidenced in the rise of McCarthyism and the Senator's "politics of fear." Popular culture was similarly affected, providing a fractured space where Americanism and its discontents took root.[9] To what extent these circumstances shaped football's emergence and the resultant pushback would make for a fascinating dissertation, I thought to myself. Alas, Franklin Foer, who canvassed some of these themes in his well-received *How Soccer Explains the World*, warned against a simple political dichotomy.[10] To this effect, president Ronald Reagan, a staunch Cold Warrior, supported the World Cup bid. So, too, did fellow Republican Norman F. Lent. So, too, as it turns out, did Jack Kemp.[11]

Back to the drawing board I went, as perplexed as when I had started. I returned to the exchanges on the House floor and stopped at a passage that has been heretofore neglected in the relevant historiography. "It seems to me," continued Kemp, "that we should not let it go unnoticed that the Super Bowl is becoming in the world equal to the

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[8] Said Beck of football, "I hate it so much, probably because the rest of the world likes it so much." Hendrik Hertzberg, "The Name of the Game," *New Yorker*, July 12, 2010, 30.

[9] Robert Griffith, *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987); Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

[10] Franklin Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World: An Unlikely Theory of Globalization* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), 235–248. See, too, Andrew M. Lindner and Daniel N. Hawkins, "Globalization, Culture Wars, and Attitudes Toward Soccer in America: An Empirical Assessment of How Soccer Explains the World," *Sociological Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2012): 68–91.

[11] 129 Cong. Rec. 10764 (1983).

World Cup, and some of us think it will surpass it."[12] This seemed to betray simple bravado – and a drastic misreading of international sentiment – than measured thought.[13] Though doubtless shaped by Kemp's gridiron past, the comment evoked notions of American exceptionalism – a term used to denote the uniqueness of the United States, but also one wrapped up in notions of superiority.[14]

America's "soccer men" dipped into similar oratory, albeit on occasions where such flag-waving is standard fare. Roused by his induction to the United States Soccer Football Association's hall of fame in 1961, for instance, a joyous Matt Boxer declared, "I would just like to say one thing that I repeat many, many times. Some of you, and maybe even most of you, [are] probably just like me, foreign-born; it can only happen here in America." George Fishwick's election to the office of first vice president provided cause for comparable patriotism: "I only want to say, as Matt Boxer did, that it can only happen in this country that a man of my small stature can rise to this high stature."[15] More often and more compellingly, however, American administrators evinced a keen sense of internationalism.

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[12] Ibid.

[13] On the ineffectiveness of the effort to establish gridiron in Europe, see Maarten van Bottenburg, "Thrown for a Loss? (American) Football and the European Sport Space," *American Behavioral Scientist* 46, no. 11 (2003): 1550–62; Andrei S. Markovits and Lars Rensmann, *Gaming the World: How Sports Are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 93–102.

[14] Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (1991): 1031–55; Hilde Restad, *American Exceptionalism: An Idea That Made a Nation and Remade the World* (London: Routledge, 2015), 2–5.

[15] Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the United States Soccer Football Association (hereafter USSFA Minutes), June 17–18, 1961, pp. 39, 42, LHOF. Fishwick's promotion to president two years later prompted a similarly exuberant declaration of America's status as "the greatest country in the world." USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, p. 65, LHOF.

I wondered to what extent the story of football in the United States could be written not with a view to how it differed from the rest of the world, but rather how it paralleled it – the exceptions to exceptionalism. Having realized the usefulness of the USSFA for exploring such themes, I determined an institutional perspective would be just the ticket. The story that follows, then, is not one of football through the lens of the office water cooler, to borrow from Andrei Markovits and Steven Hellerman's metaphor.[16] Rather, it takes place within the bureaucracy of sport administration.

George N. Kioussis
Austin, Texas and Northridge, California
Spring and Summer 2015

[16] Andrei S. Markovits and Steven L. Hellerman, *Offside: Soccer and American Exceptionalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Exceptions and Exceptionalism: The United States Soccer Football Association in a Global Context, 1950–74

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Since the 2001 release of Andrei Markovits and Steven Hellerman's *Offside*, the dominant narrative about football in the United States has been one of exceptionalism – a term used to denote uniqueness, but also one wrapped up in notions of superiority. A fin-de-siècle desire for exclusively "native" sports, so the theory holds, prompted Americans to turn a collective cold shoulder to the kicking game in favor of their own national pastimes. In the years thereafter, the American footballing experience diverged still further, as evidenced in the cachet the women's game achieved at the turn of the millennium and the sport's transformation from working-class pastime to bourgeois pursuit. Lost in these points of disjuncture, however, are important junctures.

This dissertation endeavors to bring these junctures – the exceptions to exceptionalism – to the fore by focusing on the understudied United States Soccer Football Association. Using a rich array of archival materials, it connects America's "soccer men" to the broader international football system and argues for a moderation of the paradigm of exceptionalism. It begins by focusing on the overlap of people, focusing

on the social and developmental links members of the USSFA established with their colleagues abroad. It then transitions to the overlap of ideas – first with regard to the intrusion of business interests into sport, then with regard to adapting football to fit the patterns of an increasingly competitive sport and leisure marketplace. In sum, this work teases out the complexities in a historiography that has typically been written with a view to difference.

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Abbreviations

AFA	American Football Association
ASL	American Soccer League
AYSO	American Youth Soccer Association
CONCACAF	Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football
FA	The Football Association (England)
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
FIFADC	Fédération Internationale de Football Association Documentation Centre
IFAB	International Football Association Board
ISL	International Soccer League
LHOF	United States Soccer Federation Library and Hall of Fame Collection
LL	Lovejoy Library, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville
MLS	Major League Soccer
NASL	North American Soccer League
NPSL	National Professional Soccer League
SFA	Scottish Football Association
SFC	Sam T.N. Foulds Collection
SL	Swem Library, College of William and Mary
SSBRA	Soccer South Bay Referee Association Digital Collection
USA	United Soccer Association
USSFA	United States Soccer Football Association

WMC	Werner Mieth Collection
YL	Yale University Library

Glossary

For stylistic reasons, this project adopts turns of phrase that might be unclear to those less well versed in the game. To help clear up any ambiguities, a short glossary of terms is provided below. It warrants noting, too, that "football" is used throughout in reference to the "kicking game," as the national body did not drop it from its name until the mid-1970s. "Gridiron" is adopted for its throwing counterpart. "Soccer," where it appears in quotes, is left as is.

back four	a four-person defense
Brazil '50	the 1950 World Cup in Brazil
England '66	the 1966 World Cup in England
fixture	a sporting contest set for a particular date
friendly	exhibition
libero	sweeper, or a central defender given positional freedom
Mexico '70	the 1970 World Cup in Mexico
pitch	field
side	team
terrace	stadium stands

Introduction

> *The apparent antithesis between America and the rest of the world has to be modified by an acknowledgment of several complexities.*
> – Lincoln Allison, "The Curious Role of the USA in World Sport"

"Wherever you stand on the matter of American exceptionalism, there is one indisputable fact," noted journalist Frank Deford in a recent piece for National Public Radio. "We are the exception when it comes to soccer."[1] The idea, of course, was nothing new. Deford had simply picked up a narrative strand that gained traction with the 2001 release of *Offside*, a thought-provoking book that remains the standard for the scholarly study of football in the United States. Its authors, Andrei Markovits and Steven Hellerman, root the beautiful game's American plight in a fin-de-siècle exceptionalism, which kept it from making cultural inroads in the key period between 1870 and 1930. As the nation's citizenry took to uniquely native sports – as evidenced in the evolution of baseball and gridiron from their British counterparts – the kicking game was relegated to the fringe, where it would remain amid a panoply of squandered opportunities to break through.[2]

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[1] Frank Deford, "Americans Don't Care About Major League Soccer," *NPR*, April 8, 2015, http://www.npr.org/2015/04/08/398059884/deford-americans-dont-care-about-major-league-soccer.

[2] John Sugden, "USA and the World Cup: American Nativism and the Rejection of the People's Game," in *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the USA World Cup*, ed. John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson (Aldershot: Arena, 1994), 219–52; Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*; Matthew Taylor, "Transatlantic Football: Rethinking the Transfer of Football from Europe to the USA, c.1880–c.1930s," *Ethnologie Française* 41, no. 4 (2011): 645–54; David Wangerin, *Distant Corners: American Soccer's History of Missed Opportunities and Lost Causes* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011).

Football's diffusion did, of course, encounter resistance elsewhere. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have, like the United States, established their own codes that reign supreme.[3] Yet their simple coolness toward the association game has paled in comparison to America's plain hostility. There is ample literature canvassing the vitriol of what Franklin Foer calls the nation's "anti-soccer lobby," a curious mixture of journalists and right-leaning political commentators.[4] Their sentiment is perhaps best summed up by the *Orlando Sentinel's* Jake Vest, who added to the collective oeuvre against the backdrop of the U.S.-hosted 1994 World Cup. "This may be the world's most-beloved sport," he wrote, "but the world always has been overrated."[5]

Perhaps the most obvious example of America's unique relationship to the global game is the fact that it calls it "soccer," so as to distinguish it from the preferred gridiron. Other countries, by contrast, use "football" or some transliterated alternative – *voetbal* and ποδόσφαιρο, to name but a couple – in their sporting vernaculars.[6] The spaces in the United States where football found favor offer further testament to the distinctiveness of the American experience. The cachet the women's game achieved around the turn of the millennium, for instance, provides a sharp contrast to its marginalization abroad.[7] What is

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[3] On football's early diffusion, see Allen Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 41–70; Bill Murray, *The World's Game: A History of Soccer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 1–41.

[4] Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World*, 240–246. See, for instance, Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 286–93; Daniel Taylor Buffington, "Us and Them: U.S. Ambivalence Toward the World Cup and American Nationalism," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 36, no. 2 (2012): 135–54.

[5] Quoted in Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 287–88.

[6] Ibid., 299n3.

[7] Ibid., 174–81; Andrei S. Markovits and Steven L. Hellerman, "Women's Soccer in the United States: Yet Another American 'Exceptionalism,'" *Soccer & Society* 4, no. 2–3 (2003): 14–29; Markovits and Rensmann, *Gaming the World*, 157–206; Danielle Sarver Coombs, "Pitch Perfect: How the U.S. Women's

more, football's traditional working-class bent underwent a fundamental transformation in postwar America, where it melded into the "suburban habitus" and became, to borrow from one reporter, a preferred leisure activity of "the same people who drink Orangina and snack on Toblerone bars."[8] Finally, the game's relationship to the American school system is – like the sport-education nexus more broadly – "globally strange." Whereas elite players in other countries have traditionally developed through a professional apprenticeship, their American counterparts have instead funneled through the intercollegiate ranks.[9] Lost in these points of disjuncture, however, are important junctures.

This dissertation endeavors to bring these junctures to the fore, to problematize the idea of national uniqueness and help American sport historiography, as Nathan Abrams puts it, "break out of the constraints of invented tradition and the myth of its

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National Soccer Team Brought the Game Home," in *Soccer Culture in America: Essays on the World's Sport in Red, White, and Blue*, ed. Yuya Kiuchi (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014), 160–78. See, by comparison, Jean Williams, *A Beautiful Game: International Perspectives on Women's Football* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 33–81.

[8] David L. Andrews, "Contextualizing Suburban Soccer: Consumer Culture, Lifestyle Differentiation and Suburban America," *Culture, Sport, Society* 2, no. 3 (1999): 31–53; Detlev Zwick and David L. Andrews, "The Suburban Soccer Field: Sport and the Culture of Privilege in Contemporary America," in *Football Cultures and Identities*, ed. Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 211–22; Lisa Swanson, "Soccer Fields of Cultural [Re]Production: Creating 'Good Boys' in Suburban America," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 26, no. 3 (2009): 404–24; David Keyes, "Making the Mainstream: The Domestication of American Soccer," in *Soccer Culture in America: Essays on the World's Sport in Red, White, and Blue*, ed. Yuya Kiuchi (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014), 9–24; quote in Buffington, "Us and Them," 143.

[9] Lincoln Allison, "The Curious Role of the USA in World Sport," in *The Global Politics of Sport: The Role of Global Institutions in Sport*, ed. Lincoln Allison (London: Routledge, 2004), 109–11; Markovits and Rensmann, *Gaming the World*, 271–315; Andrew M. Guest, "Individualism vs. Community: The Globally Strange Relationship between the U.S. Soccer System and the U.S. School System," in *Soccer Culture in America: Essays on the World's Sport in Red, White, and Blue*, ed. Yuya Kiuchi (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014), 25–42.

sports' exceptionalism."[10] The story that follows centers around the understudied United States Soccer Football Association (USSFA) during the years 1950 to 1974, a key period in the game's domestic and global growth. The U.S. national team's shock defeat of England at the 1950 World Cup in Brazil, coupled with the growing commercial potential that football offered to profit-minded entrepreneurs, created the impetus for a series of grassroots initiatives and culminated in the establishment of a professional league nearly two decades later.

The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the umbrella body under whose auspices the USSFA functioned, had its own developmental ambitions. This was especially the case after the election of Sir Stanley Rous to the organization's presidency in 1961. A cosmopolitan figure previously in charge of the Football Association of England (FA), Rous helped transform the insular British game into an increasingly broadminded one. He brought the same outward thinking to his new quarters in Zurich's Villa Derwald, from which he steered an ambitious aid program that sent coaches, referees, and educational literature and films around the world.[11] Within the context of football's mid-century globalization, America's "soccer men" were inextricably linked to the transnational flow of people, ideas, and capital. But before one turns to these junctures, one must first consider in greater depth points of disjuncture – and the idea of exceptionalism.

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[10] Nathan D. Abrams, "Inhibited but Not 'Crowded Out': The Strange Fate of Soccer in the United States," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 12, no. 3 (1995): 15.

[11] "Sir Stanley Rous Becomes President of FIFA," *Times* (London), September 29, 1961; Alan Tomlinson, "FIFA and the Men Who Made It," *Soccer & Society* 1, no. 1 (2000): 58–61; Peter J. Beck, "Going to War, Peaceful Co-existence or Virtual Membership? British Football and FIFA, 1928–46," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 17, no. 1 (2000): 113–34.

THE ROOTS OF (ATHLETIC) EXCEPTIONALISM

The scholarly dialogue on American exceptionalism has been muddied by the term's many and oftentimes conflicting definitions. As political scientist James W. Ceaser observes, "Exceptionalism seems like a perfectly unexceptional concept – until one asks what it means."[12] The origins of exceptionalism can be traced to the early colonial period, when John Winthrop declared his Puritan settlement a "City Upon a Hill." Though Winthrop did not condition his words as a formal doctrine per se, the notion of an America as a model for the world reverberated in the years that followed. Alexis de Tocqueville, a French political theorist, is often recognized for having developed the phrase itself after an extensive study of the American landscape in the mid-nineteenth century. The fruit of his labors, the two-volume *Democracy in America*, highlighted such peculiarities as the country's geographic conditions, non-feudal origins, and ardent individualism. Werner Sombart's work in political sociology several decades later led him to emphasize the absence of a strong labor party.[13]

In the athletic arena, Frederick Jackson Turner's strand of exceptionalism took hold. His 1893 "frontier thesis," with its focus on how the citizenry adopted and adapted European mores to fit its environs, proved influential. "The advance of the frontier," wrote Turner, "has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines."[14] Though Turner did not explicitly reference sport, his student, Frederic Paxson, asserted that athletic contests could serve as

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[12] James W. Ceaser, "The Origins and Character of American Exceptionalism," *American Political Thought* 1, no. 1 (2012): 3.
[13] Ibid., 3–9; Restad, *American Exceptionalism*, 1–24.
[14] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), 4.

a proxy for the once-open West and usher in "a new Americanism for a new century."[15] This Americanism would be built around the frontier spirit – one of equality, individualism, and organization.[16] It would not have much to do with games from the Old World. Football, with its egalitarian collectivism and non-formulaic fluency, simply did not fit the bill.[17]

Baseball did – and became the country's unequivocal national pastime. Coupling what Ian Scott calls the "mano a mano confrontation between mound and plate" with a built-in ebb and flow, the game etched itself into the rhythms of American life.[18] Its pastoral harmony, too, spoke to a nation that had only recently emerged from the throes of the Civil War. As domestic resolution turned into imperial ambition, gridiron – a game of symbolic territorial struggle, ruggedness, and evocations of war – wove itself into the nation's athletic tapestry. Basketball and hockey later followed, completing a quartet that "crowded out" the foreign elements from the country's athletic mainstream.[19]

Even among Americans willing to embrace the global game, many were wary of a prominent foreign presence. Early attempts to establish a national governing body were

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[15] Quoted in Mark Dyreson, "The Paradoxes of American Insularity, Exceptionalism and Imperialism," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22, no. 6 (2005): 938.

[16] Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 92–94.

[17] Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 79.

[18] Ian Scott, "From NASL to MLS: Transnational Culture, Exceptionalism and Britain's Part in American Soccer's Coming of Age," *Journal of Popular Culture* 44, no. 4 (2011): 836.

[19] Murray Ross, "Football Red and Baseball Green: The Heroics and Bucolics of American Sport," *Chicago Review* 22, no. 2/3 (1971): 30–40; Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*, 91–136; Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*; Mark Dyreson, "American National Pastimes: The Genealogy of an Idea," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 1–2 (2014): 14. See, too, Steven W. Pope, "Rethinking Sport, Empire, and American Exceptionalism," *Sport History Review* 38, no. 2 (2007): 92–120. It is perhaps telling that in Elliott Gorn and Warren Goldstein's foray into the American sporting landscape, the kicking game receives only passing mention. Elliott J. Gorn and Warren Goldstein, *A Brief History of American Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

criticized for their intimate links to the mother country. The American Football Association (AFA), founded in 1884, was the subject of popular ire, run as it was by British expatriates who took their cues from the FA in London. "There is no reason why England should control soccer in this country now or in the future," complained Edward Duffy of the *Newark Evening Star*. "We can take care of ourselves." By the early 1910s, the frustration came to a head and the Southern New York State Association broke away from the AFA to set up its own national body. Christening itself the American Amateur Football Association, it boldly proclaimed that "the United States, because of its size and its very proper feeling of national pride, could not be considered as being under vassalage of an English organization, in football any more than it could in any other sporting or business enterprise" – a rather ironic position given that its administration, too, had English connections.[20] As football developed into the collective passion of millions across Europe and South America, the United States looked an exceptional proposition, indeed.

THE CONTEXT OF FOOTBALLING HOSTILITY

If the initial resistance to football can be understood as one to the mother country, America's hostility toward the game has manifested itself in other settings. One might connect the anti-football sentiment at the turn of the twentieth century to the reaction against the recent surge in émigrés and, in particular, the large proportion of those

[20] Wangerin, *Distant Corners*, 35–44, quotes 38, 40–41. See, too, Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 100–01.

coming from southern, central, and eastern Europe.[21] David Trouille has explored the ways in which the spread of football in Chicago occurred within the context of a "nativist backlash against the scale and 'foreignness'" of the new migratory wave.[22] David Waldstein and Stephen Wagg have argued that the game's midcentury progress was hindered by a broader environment of political isolationism, which restricted the involvement of personalities from abroad.[23] The overall insularity was not lost on one contributor to Spalding's Athletic Library, who wrote in 1911 that football needed to be presented with the utmost care on account of a public "so ready to pick flaws in anything imported from another country."[24]

John Sugden has built upon the work of Mark Naison and linked America's footballing antagonism to political-ideological issues, focusing on the game's presence in communist athletic clubs shortly after the First Red Scare. The "foreign phobia" became particularly acute following the Second World War, when, amid the rise of McCarthyism, the citizenry "became suspicious of all things which were not stamped 'made in America.'"[25] Contemporary enmity has been understood as a riposte to globalization – at

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[21] Sugden, "USA and the World Cup," 235–37; David A. Gerber, *American Immigration: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 35–44.
[22] David Trouille, "Association Football to Fútbol: Ethnic Succession and the History of Chicago-Area Soccer, 1890–1920," *Soccer & Society* 9, no. 4 (2008): 455–76.
[23] David Waldstein and Stephen Wagg, "Unamerican Activity? Football in U.S. and Canadian Society," in *Giving the Game Away: Football, Politics and Culture on Five Continents*, ed. Stephen Wagg (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 78.
[24] Hermann Helms, "Soccer and the Press," in *Spalding's Official Association "Soccer" Foot Ball Guide 1911*, eds. George W. Orton and Thomas W. Cahill (New York: American Sports, 1911), 37.
[25] Sugden, "USA and the World Cup," 238–40.

least to the extent that the United States is the entity being globalized.[26] This may be further supported by the waning popularity of professional baseball and basketball, whose increased foreign presence has arguably rendered them vulnerable to a cultural ebbing.[27]

The development of unique national pastimes, coupled with the enduring hostility toward football, speaks to what historian Mark Dyreson has referred to as the country's "cloying insularity" in sport.[28] As David Wangerin elucidates, "Virtually from the time of the first organised games, the United States has been much more concerned with establishing its own existence and playing by its own rules than in joining any international fraternity."[29] Ironically, this did not prevent Americans from adopting the rhetoric of bigness. "Not for them a mere Cup Final or a Test Match," muses British scholar Jack Morpurgo. "It must be a World Series."[30] If the citizenry could view the country as a world unto itself in its own athletic endeavors, however, the global nature of football necessarily made America's "soccer men" part of a broader community.

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[26] Foer, *How Soccer Explains the World*, 235–48; Lindner and Hawkins, "Globalization, Culture Wars, and Attitudes Toward Soccer in America."

[27] Sean Fredrick Brown, "Exceptionalist America: American Sports Fans' Reaction to Internationalization," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22, no. 6 (2005): 1106–35. For an overview of attitudes about the game over the *longue durée*, see Gary Armstrong and James Rosbrook-Thompson, "Coming to America: Historical Ontologies and United States Soccer," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 17, no. 4 (2010): 348–71.

[28] Dyreson, "The Paradoxes of American Insularity, Exceptionalism and Imperialism," 942.

[29] David Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World: The Story of America's Forgotten Game* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 16.

[30] Jack E. Morpurgo, "The Americans at Play," transcript of radio broadcast, 1966, p. 6, Jack Eric Morpurgo Papers (hereafter Morpurgo Papers), Series 1, Box 10, Folder 35, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary (hereafter SL). See, too, Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 45–46.

EXCEPTIONS AND EXCEPTIONALISM

The following analysis attempts to connect America's "soccer men" to this community, in terms of both people and ideas. Chapter One teases out the relationships between the USSFA and its colleagues abroad – particularly those in Western Europe. It argues that, far from being aloof, members of the national body were impacted by and took part in an expanding international football system. The first part of the chapter delves into the social aspects of their participation and proposes that these constituted an important part of the USSFA's activities. Competitive minnows on the pitch and financially handcuffed off it, the national body parlayed personal links into a self-perceived international standing atypical of a footballing periphery. The second part of the chapter focuses on the international dimension of national development. Recognizing that football was becoming ever more competitive, America's "soccer men" sought the guidance of their European colleagues to keep apace with global trends. This resulted in a series of European-steered refereeing and coaching clinics, which helped lay the foundation for grassroots development.

Chapters Two and Three attempt to paint a more nuanced portrait of a country that, at first glance, appears to have imposed its values on the game. The second chapter centers around competing sport ethics: the British belief in "sport for sport's sake" and the American commercial ethos. It argues that if the oft-discussed North American Soccer League (NASL) was a story of crass commercialism, its predecessor provides greater insight into the internal clash of philosophies. In so doing, it follows the fractious relationship between the International Soccer League (ISL), a quasi-professional circuit

run by private promoters during the 1960s, and the national body. Though members of the USSFA saw a potential symbiosis between business interests and grassroots development, the difficulty they had at coming to terms with the profit motive mirrored Old World principles.

The third chapter looks at the efforts to "Americanize" football by tinkering with the Laws of the Game. It argues that what appeared to be an exceptional United States adapting the sport with reckless abandon was actually part of a broader reform movement to wrest football from its morass. Chronicling the inter- and intra-governmental debate over the offside rule, it suggests that, at least initially, American administrators acted in a manner consistent with their foreign counterparts. It then tries to theorize why the global nature of reform has not been emphasized, concentrating on a constellation of factors that led the American project to overshadow those taking place elsewhere.

Together, the chapters shine a light on the complexities in a football historiography that has typically been written with a view to difference. Given the institutional focus here, it warrants reiterating that this work necessarily differs from *Offside* and, indeed, much of the literature on America's athletic exceptionalism. Markovits and Hellerman deal primarily with what they call the country's "hegemonic sports culture," a term used in reference to the conversations on talk radio, around the office water cooler, and at the neighborhood pub.[31] This is, of course, to be expected. As scholar Jonathan Dart astutely notes, football is "a popular game which deserves a

[31] Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 9–13.

popular narrative."[32] Yet important insights can also be gleaned from institutions, which have their own people, cultures, and spaces. If Europe and the United States "had nothing to say to each other" at the level of sport culture, as Markovits and Hellerman contend, they shared commonalities at the level of sport governance.[33]

THE GLOBAL GAME IN AMERICA: A BRIEF LOOK BACK

Though this project begins in 1950, America's experience with the global game arcs back to the late nineteenth century. Throughout this earlier period, the game was, to borrow from Markovits and Hellerman, a "motley patchwork of respectable marginality." It first established a presence in the eastern portions of the country, where it was played primarily by immigrants who were not prepared to abandon their traditions. Matches took place in major metropolitan areas, though such lesser-known cities as Fall River, Massachusetts, and Kearney, New Jersey, became football hotbeds. Attempts to establish a professional league occurred as early as 1894, when a group of baseball owners founded the American League of Professional Football Clubs to open up new revenue streams during their offseason. Yet mismanagement gave the venture little chance of succeeding, and it would not be until the early 1920s that another effort would be made in this regard.[34]

The year 1921 saw the establishment of the American Soccer League, a northeastern circuit whose roughly decade-long existence constituted, for Colin Jose, the

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[32] Jonathan Dart, "Tackling a Nation's Football History," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 11 (2009): 1754.
[33] Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, ix.
[34] Ibid., 99–100, 105–08.

"golden years of American soccer."[35] Comprised of company-sponsored teams who attracted a stream of European players to American shores, the league regularly drew attendances of four and five thousand – and, in the case of the Fall River Marksmen, more than twice as many.[36] Against the backdrop of the Great Depression, the organization folded in the early 1930s. The competition that took its place – and its name – was markedly dissimilar from its predecessor. The second iteration of the American Soccer League enjoyed greater longevity, lasting into the 1980s, but was more akin to a semiprofessional competition with minimal financial backing and public interest.[37]

The college game, for its part, followed its own course. In the early 1870s, a group of northeastern universities adopted a type of kicking game into their non-scholarly activities. Harvard failed to do the same and, given its institutional clout, others soon followed its lead. By the time the decade had drawn to a close, a rugby-style pastime had emerged as the preferred campus sport. Its kicking counterpart would not reemerge until the 1900s, again in the northeast, with the establishment of the Intercollegiate Soccer League. Though the game soon spread west and the number of conferences proliferated as the century wore on, rarely did it attract considerable student interest. Instead, it was

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[35] Colin Jose, *American Soccer League, 1921–1931: The Golden Years of American Soccer* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1998).

[36] Armstrong and Rosbrook-Thompson, "Coming to America," 352–53. On the history of the league and the role of Thomas Cahill therein, see, too, Markovits and Hellerman, Offside, 109–114; Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 45–80; Wangerin, *Distant Corners*, 58–88.

[37] Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 114–19.

perceived as a form of recreation or a way to stay fit for other sports during the offseason. It also continued to be perceived as a distinctly non-American pastime.[38]

The second half of the twentieth century played host to a concerted effort to give the game mainstream appeal. The story here begins in 1950, a year in which the country experienced what was, at the time, its finest footballing hour. On June 29 in Belo Horizonte, the American national team, a proverbial motley crew that few would have fancied, defeated England in a group stage match at the World Cup. Yet for all the "sensation" the result caused in Belo Horizonte, it failed to register in the American consciousness. Tellingly, only one U.S.-based reporter, Dent McSkimming of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, was on hand to cover the event.[39] Over the next quarter-century, members of the USSFA would toil away to break the game free from obscurity.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

Given this project's institutional focus, it is necessarily driven by institutional documents. Those of the USSFA have sparingly been used by historians, David Wangerin's meticulous research notwithstanding.[40] Part of this may have to do with issues of access. A treasure-trove of material currently sits in temporary storage in North

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[38] Ibid., 71–74, 121–23. On football's relationship to ethnic groups within individual cities, see Gabriel S. Logan, "Lace Up the Boots, Full Tilt Ahead: Recreation, Immigration, and Labor on Chicago's Soccer Fields, 1890–1939" (PhD diss., Northern Illinois University, 2007); Trouille, "Association Football to Fútbol"; Derek Van Rheenen, "The Promise of Soccer in America: The Open Play of Ethnic Subcultures," *Soccer & Society* 10, no. 6 (2009): 781–94; Thomas Hatfield, *The History of Soccer in Greater Cleveland from 1906 until 1981* (Denver: Outskirts, 2014); Brian D. Bunk, "Sardinero and Not a Can of Sardines: Soccer and Spanish Ethnic Identities in New York City during the 1920s," *Journal of Urban History* 41, no. 3 (2015): 444–59.

[39] "England's Defeat," *Times* (London), June 30, 1950; Grahame L. Jones, "The Upset That Shocked the World," *Los Angeles Times*, June 16, 1985. For a book-length account of the triumph, see Geoffrey Douglas, *The Game of Their Lives* (New York: Henry Holt, 1996).

[40] See, for instance, Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*; Wangerin, *Distant Corners*.

Carolina, following the closure of the national body's hall of fame in 2010. In addition to meeting minutes and annual reports, used here at length, there is an array of sources yet to be fully explored – newspapers and newspaper clippings, media guides, scrapbooks, photographs, and videos. There is also an array of artifacts, of potential interest to historians of material culture and those with a keen interest in the game.[41]

Personal correspondence factors prominently into the story here, too. The third chapter follows the transatlantic conversation that took place between administrators in the United States and Europe, as documented in the volumes of letters at the FIFA House in Zurich. Two other archives are largely responsible for filling in the gaps. The first, located at the USSFA headquarters in Chicago, is home to more complete and accessible annual convention records than the facility in North Carolina. The second, Lovejoy Library at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, houses three special collections that span some hundred-years of football history. Particularly important for this project were a series of yearbooks that cover a five-year span beginning in the late 1960s, which provide a helpful overview of the amateur and professional scenes as they evolved alongside one another. It is to this evolution that this project now turns.

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[41] For an overview of the history of the hall of fame, see Neil Morris, "Who Knew that America's Soccer Legacy was Stored in Hillsborough?," *Indy Week*, August 14, 2013, http://www.indyweek.com/indyweek/who-knew-that-americas-soccer-legacy-was-stored-in-hillsborough/Content?oid=3695636.

Chapter One: Another Brick in the Wall: The USSFA and the International Football System

July 1962

Before a room full of colleagues at the Hotel Wolverine in Detroit, James McGuire, a former USSFA president and current member of the FIFA executive committee, evinced a clear awareness that the domestic game was implicated by broader global patterns. "There is no such thing as isolation in Soccer Football," he declared with some assurance. "We cannot build a wall around ourselves and must expand with other nations."[1] His comments came within the context of a morning-session discussion over the umbrella body's activities and, more specifically, the recent founding of the Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF). Yet they spoke more broadly to the international orientation America's "soccer men" had displayed over the previous decade.

This orientation was altogether inconsistent with what journalist Lawrie Mifflin has called the country's "heritage of isolationism in athletics."[2] However, the global nature of football meant American administrators could hardly avoid looking abroad. Many even seemed to revel in the idea that they were, as G. Randolph Manning put it, "a respected part and parcel of the largest international sports governing forces."[3] Tellingly, the national federation became an early FIFA member, earning provisional affiliation in

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[1] USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, p. 9, LHOF.
[2] Lawrie Mifflin, "A Place for Soccer's World Cup," *New York Times*, May 8, 1983.
[3] Reports of the Officers and Committees of the United States Soccer Football Association (hereafter USSFA Reports), 1951–52, p. 9, LHOF.

1913 before being promoted to full status the following year. Despite an ominous start to its involvement – an Associated Press cable prematurely announced its admittance – the United States Football Association, as it was called at the time, carved out a position for itself in a nascent organization that had yet to establish widespread reach.[4] Its senior team, for its part, was among the pioneers of the World Cup, taking part in the inaugural competition in 1930 when a number of prominent European countries were conspicuous by their absence. As sociologist John Sugden concludes, "In terms of longevity and international competition, soccer is the elder statesman of American sport."[5]

The USSFA's international involvement grew still more intense as football entered an era of rampant globalization.[6] Yet these connections have been written out of a historiography that has transposed the notion of an aloof United States to the realm of football. As Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson suggest, "the USA has played little role in football's global diffusion and cross-cultural flows, such as administrative leadership, tournament successes, coaching techniques, or player mobility."[7] Though one would be hard-pressed to argue that the United States has driven the game's globalization, the period between 1950 and 1974 saw the USSFA foster important social and working ties to its colleagues abroad. These ties prop up the story here.

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[4] Minutes of the First Council Meeting of the United States of America Football Association, August 9, 1913, pp. 3–4, Henry D. "Hap" Meyer Soccer Collection (hereafter Meyer Collection), Box 5, Folder 16, Louisa H. Bowen University Archives and Special Collections, Lovejoy Library, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville (hereafter LL).

[5] Sugden, "USA and the World Cup," 219.

[6] On the expansion of FIFA's reach, which did not become truly global in scope until the second half of the twentieth century, see Paul Dietschy, "Making Football Global? FIFA, Europe, and the Non-European Football World, 1912–74," *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (2013): 279–98.

[7] Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, "The Globalization of Football: A Study in the Glocalization of the 'Serious Life,'" *British Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 4 (2004): 555–56.

The first part of this chapter deals with the social relationships that America's "soccer men" cultivated in the international arena. Yet to establish a good competitive standard and dispirited by myriad challenges on the domestic front, members of the USSFA realized that pomp and circumstance were an element of football they could do – and do well.[8] As a result, social relationships functioned as a source of institutional pride and contributed to a growing perception – however accurate – that the USSFA was a body of international repute.

The second part of this chapter unpacks the working ties the USSFA formed with a collection of key football men. This was evidenced in a series of refereeing and coaching clinics that helped the game's domestic growth at precisely the time that the national federation needed such assistance. The section follows the efforts of a cast of characters – Sir Stanley Rous, Ken Aston, Matt Busby, and Dettmar Cramer, among others – whose trips from coast to coast stirred public enthusiasm and gave added impetus to the developmental efforts of the USSFA.

Together, the two parts of the chapter elucidate the international connections that America's "soccer men" developed during the period. Far from being isolationist, the USSFA was intimately linked to an international sport system experiencing profound transformation. The entry of decolonized nations into the governing fold, the developmental aspirations of administrators in Zurich, and the growing prominence of

[8] The national team's shock defeat of England at Brazil '50 failed to usher in competitive success. Limited by FIFA's restrictions on the use of foreign-born players and an infrastructure that had yet to produce top-class domestic products, the U.S. languished in international play. Despite the positive spin administrators put on the team's potential, its consistent failure to qualify for the World Cup finals provided a glaring indictment of its competitive standard.

commercial sponsors had drastic implications for international football's bureaucratic machinery and geographic reach.[9] To paraphrase the eminent scholar Alan Tomlinson: as the game went global, the USSFA went global with it.[10]

"A BOND OF FRIENDSHIP"

"Sociability is a big part of Soccer in every part of the world. Because, when your delegates go to other countries, the same feeling is there. The people just pick you up, there's like a bond of friendship that exists through the entire world."[11] The words were those of James McGuire, an American administrator whose work with FIFA made him well attuned to the ins and outs of international football. He was, as one observer put it, the country's "greatest ambassador" – and the array of trinkets he picked up along his travels, including a World Cup medal from King Gustav of Sweden, speak to the notion of him as a capable administrator and affable colleague.[12] Though McGuire's comments might strike one as cliché, they are indicative of the genuine sense of camaraderie into which many "football men" were socialized.

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[9] John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, "Global Power Struggles in World Football: FIFA and UEFA, 1954–74, and Their Legacy," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 14, no. 2 (1997): 1–25; John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football: Who Rules the Peoples' Game* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998); Paul Darby, "Football, Colonial Doctrine and Indigenous Resistance: Mapping the Political Persona of FIFA's African Constituency," *Culture, Sport, Society* 3, no. 1 (2000): 61–87; Paul Darby, "Africa and the 'World' Cup: FIFA Politics, Eurocentrism and Resistance," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22, no. 5 (2005): 883–905; Paul Darby, "Stanley Rous's 'Own Goal': Football Politics, South Africa and the Contest for the FIFA Presidency in 1974," *Soccer & Society* 9, no. 2 (2008): 259–72; Dietschy, "Making Football Global?"

[10] Alan Tomlinson, "Going Global: The FIFA Story," in *Off the Ball: The Football World Cup*, ed. Alan Tomlinson and Garry Whannel (London: Pluto, 1986), 83–98.

[11] USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, pp. 58–59, LHOF.

[12] USSFA Minutes, July 26–27, 1958, p. 22, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, p. 52, LHOF.

International meetings provided participants a space in which to cultivate relationships with like-minded individuals, often in lavish environs where no pains were spared. The 1962 FIFA Congress in Santiago, for instance, saw attendees meet with the Cardinal of Santiago, before enjoying an afternoon of horseracing and an evening banquet at the Club de la Unión. J. Eugene Ringsdorf, then the USSFA president, offered a glowing assessment of the event, a worthwhile experience "where renewed acquaintances and meeting new friends from all over the globe will long be remembered."[13] Reports from Congresses in Sweden and Italy were similarly positive.[14]

Competitive fixtures provided sites for comparable pleasantries. At a pair of friendlies in Scotland and Ireland, American delegates were treated to unexcelled hospitality and "excellent co-operation in the way of publicity," receiving encouragement from local dignitaries, enthusiastic press members, and – in Glasgow – a mid-week record crowd. The national selection suffered a pair of heavy defeats, but the venture was deemed a social success. The aura of graciousness even led administrators to believe that "there is a definite market on foreign soil for United States teams."[15] Though the *Glasgow Herald* described Scotland's 6–0 victory over the visiting Americans as a "travesty of a contest," those at Hampden Park were more forgiving. "The slightest sign of an American movement of skill," continued the *Herald*, "had been cheered to the

[13] USSFA Reports, 1961–62, pp. 27–29, LHOF.
[14] USSFA Minutes, July 26–27, 1958, p. 52, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1960–61, pp. 19–20, LHOF.
[15] USSFA Reports, 1951–52, p. 1, 14, 32–33, LHOF.

echo."[16] American officials were keen to reciprocate in kind. The exchange of courtesies became an integral part of the organization's activities in the years that followed.

Across the Border and Across the Pond

Due to cultural links and geographic proximity, American administrators established a particular affinity with their neighbors to the north. The countries shared, as Canadian representative Patrick Nolan pointed out, much in common – from a border and a language to "ideals, hopes, and ambitions." More important from a sporting perspective was the problem of growing a game in two countries that were historically resistant to it. "I think that Canada and the United States do have to work together in every respect in promoting this game toward that possible interest because we are possibly the only two countries in the world that can't boast of its being the National sport," remarked Walter Freer, president of the Interprovincial League. Or, as his compatriot Bert Lipsham put it with more concision, "It isn't easy to promote Soccer in a land of baseball or ice hockey."[17]

The struggle to sell the game to two lukewarm citizenries prompted administrators on either side of the Forty-Ninth Parallel to see themselves as collaborators in football's "march of progress."[18] Canadian delegate Arthur Arnold, whose regular participation at the USSFA annual convention made him feel at home in

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[16] "Scots Win Farcical Match Against U.S.A.," *Glasgow Herald*, May 1, 1952. The *Herald's* match preview was as unsympathetic as its match report, as its headline made perfectly clear. See "Scottish Victory May Be Without Value," *Glasgow Herald*, April 30, 1952.

[17] USSFA Minutes, June 17–18, 1961, pp. 35–38, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, p. 50–51, LHOF. See, too, USSFA Minutes, July 10–11, 1954, pp. 37–38, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1954–55, p. 41, LHOF.

[18] USSFA Minutes, July 9–10, 1955, p. 3, LHOF.

the States, couched the relationship in familial terms: "We do feel like we are one of the same."[19] Though cross-border matches seemed to evoke little fanfare, the neighbors often extended courtesies to one another in the form of cocktail parties, sightseeing tours, and honorary titles.[20] The warmth was such, noted J. Eugene Ringsdorf, that it helped him forget the single-digit temperatures during his visit to a 1957 meeting in Saskatoon.[21]

Upon the establishment of CONCACAF, the relationship would take on a more political dimension. USSFA administrators expressed initial interest in the concert, which they felt would improve their bureaucratic standing and provide greater opportunity to compete internationally.[22] "I think we belong into this set-up," opined Harry Kraus, a representative to the continental body. "The people like us and are proud to have us with them." George Fishwick concurred, stressing the need to "guide, help, direct, and offer leadership to this young, but most important, new administrative International Conference."[23] However, a site ostensibly created to promote regional solidarity soon became one of simmering factionalism. Meetings once enjoyed for their social aspects made way for bureaucratic jockeying; previously surmountable linguistic differences grew ever more obdurate. As the organization splintered into distinct political blocs,

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[19] USSFA Minutes, July 7–8, 1956, pp. 4, 28, LHOF.

[20] USSFA Reports, 1954–55, p. 41, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1955–56, p. 32, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1957–58, p.26, LHOF. James McGuire registered his displeasure at a lack of grandeur at fixtures between the countries. "We bring teams from Britain, from Germany, and from other parts of the world, and we treat these visitors with a red carpet," he began. "We give them all the importance that this position in soccer should get, but we don't do it to ourselves in Canada. Now, why should we treat Canada any less dearly than we treat other countries and why should Canada treat us any less dearly than they treat other countries. If no one else will do it, if it's going to be done, it should be done with pomp and the splendor that we give to all international games." USSFA Minutes, July 9–10, 1955, p. 31, LHOF.

[21] USSFA Reports, 1956–57, p. 30, LHOF.

[22] USSFA Reports, 1961–62, p. 2, LHOF; Program of the USSFA Annual Convention, July 13–15, 1962, pp. 3–4, Prudencio "Pete" Garcia Soccer Collection (hereafter Garcia Collection), Box 2, Folder 15, LL.

[23] USSFA Reports, 1963–64, pp. 2, 35, LHOF.

USSFA delegates lamented the belligerence and what they perceived as a movement to make "outsiders" of the North American contingent. As one report bluntly stated, "Our standing in CONCACAF has been reduced to one of very minor status."[24]

In its neighbor to the north, the USSFA found a trusted ally. The pair discussed setting up an organization primarily for the English-speaking countries of North America and the Caribbean.[25] Though such efforts ultimately came to naught – Canada ended up withdrawing from CONCACAF, while the United States, despite lingering pessimism, agreed to stay put at the behest of FIFA – the fiasco underlined the genuine sense of partnership the neighbors shared.[26] When CONCACAF attempted to come between this, informing its members through a circular letter that they "must abstain" from continued sporting relations with Canada, the national body did not hesitate to respond.[27] Executive secretary Joseph Barriskill wrote Zurich to indicate his belief that the decree was neither right nor proper and, upon receiving confirmation that it was also legally impermissible, contacted the continental unit directly.[28] "As you well know, we have not been entirely satisfied with the progress of CONCACAF," he began. "We would like to specifically

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[24] USSFA Reports, 1962–63, pp. 4–5, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, June 25–26, 1966, pp. 22–24, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1968–69, pp. 21–23, LHOF; Joseph J. Barriskill to Carlos Carrera, August 1, 1969, Correspondence with National Associations: USA (hereafter USA Correspondence), Box 1969–72, Fédération Internationale de Football Association Documentation Centre (hereafter FIFADC).

[25] USSFA Reports, 1969–70, p. 5, LHOF. John Best did well to capture the sense of solidarity following a conference in Guadalajara, noting that Canadian delegate Aubrey Sanford "supported us 100 percent in all of our positions." USSFA Reports, 1968–69, p. 23, LHOF.

[26] Robert M. Guelker to Carlos Carrera, February 18, 1968, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Joseph J. Barriskill to Helmut Käser, May 21, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Joseph J. Barriskill, May 28, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; James P. McGuire to Helmut Käser, July 15, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

[27] Benjamin Jaramillo to All National Football Association Members of CONCACAF, March 5, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

[28] Joseph J. Barriskill to Helmut Käser, May 21, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Joseph J. Barriskill, May 28, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

point out that we will engage in games with Canada whenever we think it is in the best interest of both countries."[29]

In keeping with historical trends, America's "soccer men" also cultivated the relationship with their colleagues across the pond. When the English team visited New York in June 1953, the organization endeavored to make the trip an eventful occasion, arranging visits to Radio City Music Hall, the Polo Grounds, and Madison Square Garden. Though rain spoiled some of the festivities – the match itself was postponed by a day and ultimately played before a lackluster crowd – it was not enough to dampen the spirits of Sir Stanley Rous. Upon his return home, the secretary of the English Football Association wrote to express his "sincere appreciation" for the hospitality and offer assurances that, "despite the postponement of the match, our stay in New York was entirely happy." Relieved at Rous's understanding, the USSFA did not hesitate to praise the work done in "cementing the friendship with England's National Officials."[30]

At the Football Association's ninetieth anniversary that October, James McGuire was "exceedingly well received" and left with the conviction that the "great affair was a step in the right direction in our International Relations with England and the other countries."[31] By the time of the FA's centennial, these relations had taken firm hold, as symbolized in the gifts the associations gave to one another. The USSFA presented its hosts with a silver bowl adorned with the flags of the two countries; the FA reciprocated by offering a painting of an English Cup final that was subsequently displayed in the

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[29] Joseph J. Barriskill to Carlos Carrera, August 1, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.
[30] USSFA Reports, 1952–53, pp. 1, 8, 31, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 6–7, 1953, p. 20, LHOF.
[31] USSFA Reports, 1953–54, p. 1, LHOF.

American body's offices. Rous – by now president of FIFA – praised the United States before an audience of more than seventy nations. "The official function was dressed in all the pomp and dignity that would be expected," beamed George Fishwick, who represented the USSFA at the event alongside McGuire. "It is most heartening to know that we have such a good friend in the highest office in the World of Soccer."[32]

Rationalizing the Social

The entertainment of visitors was physically taxing and financially draining – requiring at times weeks away from home – but important enough for some administrators to cover the costs out of pocket. Indeed, the efforts were both a good investment and a source of institutional pride. "Here we are a small Association, yet we do more international traveling with teams who come into our country than most countries in the world," continued McGuire. "It is one of the few things that I can get up in FIFA and say what we do. It is the one thing we have got to brag about right now."[33]

When the national federation moved offices to the Empire State Building in 1967, its president at the time, Robert Guelker, heralded the occasion as an opportunity to "better service soccer buffs with prestige and stature both nationally and internationally."[34] The location, he continued, "lends dignity to the organization which it deserves."[35] News of the move piqued the interest of foreign guests, who, according to

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[32] USSFA Reports, 1963–64, p. 3, LHOF.
[33] USSFA Reports, 1953–54, p. 5, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 13–14, 1957, p. 68, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 11–12, 1964, p. 6, LHOF.
[34] Robert M. Guelker, "Message from the USSFA President," in *1969 Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Bill Graham (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1969), 5, Meyer Collection, Box 5, Folder 8, LL.
[35] USSFA Reports, 1967–68, p. 2, LHOF.

one USSFA report, "called to see our new place and were high in their praise of our new headquarters."[36] Helmut Käser might have expected as much – the FIFA general secretary was given a chance to take in the "fascinating panorama" of New York from the top floor when he was in town for the USSFA's Golden Jubilee celebration four years earlier.[37]

Whilst Käser enjoyed the scenery from his position atop the observation deck, America's "soccer men" steadied their gaze at the international football hierarchy. In so doing, they took comfort in what they saw. "Don't forget that we, the United States Soccer Football Association, despite our failings are highly regarded and respected throughout the entire Soccer World," noted McGuire. "The rest of the soccer world is patiently waiting for the time when America will take her rightful place among the big nations of soccer. Those of you who have attended International meetings can attest to the above."[38] His words were echoed by several reports throughout the period in question, which suggested that the United States was part of the "diplomatic Soccer lime light" and "really, really well represented in the international picture."[39]

America's "soccer men" drew links between their sense of standing and their social interactions. Joseph Barriskill suggested that the efforts to entertain visitors

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[36] Ibid., p. 34.

[37] Helmut Käser to United States Soccer Football Association, July 8, 1963, USA Correspondence, Box 1932–64, FIFADC. This was part of a broader sightseeing tour, including a stop at St. Patrick's Cathedral, where he could admire the Neo-Gothic architecture, and a trip to West Point "through the wonderful woods and along the beautiful lakesides." Upon his return to Zurich, Käser wrote the national federation to express his "heartfelt thanks" for its hospitality, noting that the brief visit "will always remain a very pleasant memory."

[38] USSFA Reports, 1963–64, p. 24, LHOF.

[39] USSFA Reports, 1950–51, p. 1, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 26–27, 1958, p. 23, LHOF.

bolstered the USSFA's prestige, ensuring that "members of foreign Associations are always glad to pay us a visit."[40] The converse was also true. Edward Sullivan's assessment of the national federation's standing following the 1956 FIFA Congress in Lisbon was shaped, in part, by the hospitality he experienced. "The way we are represented, fellows, it's tops," noted the then president. "Believe me, it couldn't be better. Every place we went we were greatly received and the way those people reacted to the United States, I can't give you words to express my thoughts on it."[41] Though American administrators were attuned to the notion that, beneath the egalitarian veneer of international football laid a latent Eurocentrism, they remained confident in their position.[42] Hence, as other footballing "peripheries" railed against a group of Europeans intent on preserving their institutional primacy, the USSFA rarely voiced such concerns.[43]

The conviviality of these international connections differed markedly from the experiences at home. As McGuire lamented in his 1954 presidential report, "It is rather ironical that we receive more International than we do National recognition."[44] The domestic scene was characterized by a citizenry that remained lukewarm to the game and a college system that played by its own rules. Even some groups under the auspices of the USSFA balked at the chain-of-command. The experience of New York delegate Ludolf

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[40] USSFA Reports, 1953–54, p. 5, LHOF.
[41] USSFA Minutes, July 7–8, 1956, p. 27, LHOF.
[42] USSFA Minutes, July 26–27, 1958, p. 22, LHOF.
[43] Sugden and Tomlinson, "Global Power Struggles in World Football"; Paul Darby, "Africa's Place in FIFA's Global Order: A Theoretical Frame," *Soccer & Society* 1, no. 2 (2000): 36–61; Darby, "Football, Colonial Doctrine and Indigenous Resistance"; Darby, "Africa and the 'World' Cup."
[44] USSFA Reports, 1953–54, p. 1, LHOF.

Heidecker, whose special-issue tickets to an International Soccer League match were torn up at the entrance of the Polo Grounds, was indicative of the national federation's lack of domestic cachet. Though the fiasco seemed to be the result of a simple misunderstanding, Heidecker was left embarrassed, as if he and his wife were "school children who had just been hit by their teacher."[45]

Heidecker's was also not an isolated incident. Pennsylvania representative Helmut Schurer was dealt similar disappointment in his stadium journeys. "It is an honor to get one of these passes," noted Schurer. "However, when you walk up there and you are turned down at the gate and you are ridiculed a little bit, then you ask yourself as to what good a pass from the USSFA is – what does it all mean." The existential questions were less of an issue for administrators traveling abroad, where they could present their identification cards at stadia and be, in Joseph Barriskill's words, "welcomed with open arms." Former president George Healey's inability to find a decent seat for himself and his wife at a match in Liverpool was resolved once he showed his credentials, whereupon he was shown to the board of directors area.[46]

The frequency and depth of reporting on such social interactions indicate a sincere belief in their importance. By extending courtesies, America's "soccer men" could feel that they were doing their part as members of an international community. Their experiences abroad provided a source of reassurance in light of the disregard they felt at home. They also lamented the fact that many of their compatriots did not speak the same

[45] USSFA Minutes, June 25–26, 1960, pp. 18–19, LHOF.
[46] Ibid.

lingua franca. "During my recent stay in Europe, I realized that the American boy is missing so much without soccer contacts and competition compared to those in other lands," noted John Wood, who coached the U.S. Olympic team at the 1952 Helsinki Games. "I felt it was like an additional language to a boy."[47]

ESTABLISHING A PATTERN: THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Involvement in the international football system transcended the mere extension of courtesies. It grew to include various forms of developmental assistance, partly a byproduct of FIFA's grandiose vision for the game's future. The election of Sir Stanley Rous to lead the organization in 1961 gave it, in James McGuire's words, a long-absent "working president," one who traveled the world in a tireless effort to promote the growth of football.[48] Rous's ambitions were consolidated in the establishment of FIFA's technical development committee, which coordinated the global dissemination of instructional literature, films, and financial aid.[49] Though national federations were still expected to do their part – Rous encouraged them to "make imaginative use of their local resources" – Zurich emerged as a viable option for assistance.[50]

The USSFA was keenly aware of this support system. *FIFA News*, a monthly bulletin the umbrella body sent to member associations, dedicated ample coverage to the

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[47] USSFA Reports, 1950–51, p. 13, LHOF.
[48] Referees Addresses of Mihailo Andrejevic and Stanley Rous for the United States Soccer Football Association (hereafter Referees Addresses), September 18–19, 1962, p. 6, LHOF.
[49] "Technical Development Committee," *FIFA News*, July 1963, 1; "Technical Development Committee," *FIFA News*, October 1963, 1; Stanley Rous, "FIFA," *FIFA News*, April 1974, 154–55.
[50] Stanley Rous, "The Next Four Years – And After," *FIFA News*, November 1970, 375.

developmental program.[51] Firsthand experiences were similarly enlightening. J. Eugene Ringsdorf, who attended the London Extraordinary Congress at which Rous was elected, left convinced of "the importance of being a member of this International group, whose sole purpose is to promote soccer football all over the world." At the following year's meeting in Santiago, at which Ringsdorf was again present, Rous devoted part of his address to Zurich's plans for developmental aid. "Those who feel that they are moving too slowly will be assured of support," he told listeners. "The FIFA has no intention of abdicating its responsibility to any confederations or groups."[52] The USSFA needed to wait mere months for Rous to make good on his commitment.

Men in Black: The National Refereeing Scheme

Though much of FIFA's developmental efforts centered around players and coaches, Zurich worked tirelessly to standardize refereeing throughout the world. Part of this had to do with ensuring that the game was played under the correct "spirit." As longtime official Ken Aston put it:

> In the final analysis, it is the referees who are the educators – it is they who determine what is and what is not allowed, and this affects the way in which the game is played. Experienced players and coaches can only show to best advantage if the referees under whom they operate are of equal experience and are able to "read the game." It is a shortsighted policy to spend much money on the playing side of the game without making an equal effort to raise the standard of

[51] See, for example, "Referees' Courses in Africa," *FIFA News*, December 1966, 2; "Courses of Training for Coaches," *FIFA News*, April 1969, 100; "Asian International Referees' Course 1970," *FIFA News*, December 1970, 435; "Requests for Financial Aid from Confederations," *FIFA News*, October 1971, 440–441; Koe Ewe Teik, "News from the Asian Football Confederation," *FIFA News*, October 1973, 393–96.
[52] USSFA Reports, 1961–62, pp. 2, 30, LHOF. Joseph Triner, the USSFA's voting delegate at the Extraordinary Congress, agreed with Ringsdorf. "I leave these Congresses," he wrote, "with a deep sense of conviction that World Soccer Football must be controlled and conducted by a world organization." Ibid., p. 14.

refereeing.[53]

FIFA's efforts were driven by a desire for uniform application of the Laws of the Game. This had become something of a sore spot for the umbrella body, as national federations often interpreted rules in their own respective manners. "We only have seventeen laws," observed Mihailo Andrejevic, a longstanding member of the umbrella body's executive committee. "We have one hundred and seventeen interpretations, however."[54] Zurich duly sought to bring those under its auspices into closer association with what it deemed correct. One way to do so was through refereeing clinics.

Stanley Rous and Mihailo Andrejevic: 1962

In the autumn of 1962, Andrejevic visited the United States with FIFA president Stanley Rous for a series of refereeing workshops. The USSFA had long expressed interest in an opportunity of this type. A report from a clinic in Macolin five years earlier was deemed a sufficient enough help to local knowledge that the national body requested four hundred copies from Zurich – and this despite the considerable cost for printing and postage.[55] Following a particularly violent World Cup in Chile, the opportunity to host a workshop in the United States became all the more important. Accordingly, Rous and Andrejevic were scheduled for a four-city tour consisting of stops in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. For the national federation, their trip provided a good

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[53] Ken Aston, "Reflections on a Referees' Course Tour in North America," *FIFA News*, February 1968, 27.
[54] Referees Addresses, September 18–19, 1962, p. 5, LHOF.
[55] Joseph J. Barriskill to Kurt Gassmann, November 14, 1957, USA Correspondence, Box 1932–64, FIFADC; Kurt Gassmann to Joseph J. Barriskill, November 19, 1957, USA Correspondence, Box 1932–64, FIFADC; Joseph J. Barriskill to Kurt Gassmann, November 27, 1957, USA Correspondence, Box 1932–64, FIFADC.

opportunity to elevate the standard of refereeing and, ideally, convince foreign observers that American officials were just as seasoned as their foreign counterparts.[56]

Perhaps as important, however, was the venture's significance from the perspective of institutional prestige. The stakes were such – McGuire went so far as to suggest that "our reputation depends on it" – that the organization's leaders felt the need to compel their colleagues to take part in requisite number. McGuire offered assurances that Rous was "amazingly well informed," his lectures "a treat to listen to." "It is imperative that these meetings, these courses, be well attended," he continued. "For your own sake as people interested in the game you must show up, not only the referees, not only the referees committee, but the leaders of the game in the particular city and the particular state, your league presidents, your officers, your club members, this thing must get a big turn out because it would be an unhappy thing if people travel halfway across the world and speak to empty halls."[57]

Time would prove McGuire's anxieties unnecessary. The *New York Times* ran a piece that advertised the visit, highlighting Rous's status as "the foremost authority on the rules of the game."[58] Audiences responded by turning out in droves, keen to engage their visitors in a vibrant back-and-forth dialogue. Rous and Andrejevic spoke and fielded questions on a number of subjects, from interpretation of laws and administrative

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[56] USSFA Reports 1960–61, p. 26, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, p. 9, LHOF; Referees Addresses, September 18–19, 1962, pp. 2–3, 6, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1962–63, pp. 17, 30–31, LHOF.
[57] USSFA Minutes, June 17–18, 1961, p. 44, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, pp. 9, 58. As the visit drew nearer, the national federation continued its promotional tone. Its *Referees Bulletin* ran a "Welcome Sir Stanley" banner on the front page and ensured readers that the pair's talks would be "very enlightening." "Welcome Sir Stanley," *USSFA Referees Bulletin*, September–October 1962, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 21, LL.
[58] "Sir Stanley to Give Lectures on Soccer," *New York Times*, September 16, 1962.

procedures to strategies for physical and mental preparedness – a pre-match coffee or chocolate could help one's quickness of decision, according to the latter. Copies of their addresses were subsequently sent to state associations throughout the country, ensuring the duo's work resonated beyond the locations they visited.[59]

Reports of the venture from the USSFA's end dubbed it "the highlight of the season," one whose effects were "a wealth of information, which will help our association immeasurably."[60] Rous won audiences over with his humor and insight, leading George Fishwick to conclude that attendees "acquired an inspirational desire to put forth renewed effort for the growth of soccer in this country."[61] Rous responded with similar decorum. "Having returned home I am writing to express my thanks to you and your members for the welcome afforded to me during my recent visit to the States," he offered in a letter to referees committee chairman Enzo DeLuca. "I thought that the two sessions which were held in New York were stimulating to Dr. Andrejevic and to me and I hope equally so to you. If there is anything which you think FIFA could do to help in your work at any time, please do not hesitate to let me know."[62] As time would show, the USSFA would take Rous up on his offer.

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[59] Referees Addresses, September 18–19, 1962, LHOF; Stanley Rous to Joseph J. Barriskill, October 4, 1962, USA Correspondence, Box 1932–64, FIFADC; USSFA Reports, 1962–63, pp. 17, 20–22, 30–31, LHOF. Curiously absent from the Chicago leg of the tour were representatives from Missouri, a football stronghold. George E. Fishwick to Pete Garcia, September 28, 1962, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 21, LL.

[60] USSFA Reports, 1962–63, pp. 1–2, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, p. 27, LHOF.

[61] George E. Fishwick to Pete Garcia, September 28, 1962, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 21, LL.

[62] USSFA Reports, 1962–63, pp. 30–31, LHOF. See, too, Stanley Rous to Joseph J. Barriskill, October 4, 1962, USA Correspondence, Box 1932–64, FIFADC.

Ken Aston: 1968

If the visit of Rous and Andrejevic became particularly important after the cynicism at the 1962 World Cup, Ken Aston's excursion six years later offered similar value. Indeed, no one could speak with greater authority on the unsavoriness that took place in Chile than the man from Colchester. Handed the responsibility for a group stage contest between the tournament hosts and Italy, a violent affair that went down in football lore as the "Battle of Santiago," Aston was left to frown, "I wasn't reffing a football match, I was acting as an umpire in military manoeuvres." A man of "strong character" and "inimitable style," Aston became an authority on match control, eventually earning the chair of the FIFA referees committee. Most famously, he devised the system of red and yellow cards after inspiration struck at a traffic light along London's Kensington High Street.[63]

Aston also played an important role in FIFA's developmental work. In early 1968, the "tall, blond, sonorous, slightly De Gaulle-ish man," as journalist Brian Glanville described him, arrived in North America for a series of refereeing clinics at the invitation of the professional league. In a hectic schedule that spanned not even two weeks, Aston visited seven cities from coast to coast, attempting to, as he put it, "stimulate and enthuse the referees and to present the challenge of refereeing in a new light." To this effect, he

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[63] Jordi Punti, "When Red Means Go," *FIFA Weekly*, September 19, 2014, 9–10; "Ken Aston – The Inventor of Yellow and Red Cards, *FIFA*, January 15, 2002, http://www.fifa.com/development/news/y=2002/m=1/news=ken-aston-the-inventor-yellow-and-red-cards-80623.html.

met with an array of interested parties – referees, club owners, players, and spectators – taking part in debates over the interpretation of laws and giving demonstrations of fouls.[64]

The talks were, according to the USSFA, "well attended, well received and most informative" – so much so that the national federation expressed interest the following year in arranging a similar program.[65] Aston displayed gratitude for the passionate audiences he met, whose willingness to travel hundreds of miles to be in attendance suggested that the country's footballing future was a bright one. Having traversed long distances in his own right, Aston was reinvigorated by the hospitality of those with whom he worked. "What might seem a very exhausting tour in terms of lecturing and travelling was," he remarked, "made a pleasure by the kindness and thoughtfulness of the USA officials who accompanied me in turn."[66] He also left the door open to his continued involvement in the country's footballing progress. "I would hope to be regarded as on the team," he told the *New York Times*. "I think there's a good job to be done, and I would like at this stage, whilst all the dust is settling and whilst they need most help, to give what help I can."[67] Drawing attention to the strength of the game in the colleges, he added, "Developments in North America will be watched with interest by the rest of the

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[64] USSFA Reports, 1967–68, pp. 2, 8, LHOF; Brian Glanville, "U.S. Soccer: Long View," *New York Times*, January 28, 1968; Aston, "Reflections on a Referees' Course Tour in North America," 27–28. The initial request for the tour was made by the United Soccer Association, which then merged with the National Professional Soccer League to establish the North American Soccer League.

[65] USSFA Minutes, July 13–14, 1968, p. 6, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1968–69, p. 12, LHOF.

[66] Aston, "Reflections on a Referees' Course Tour in North America," 27–28. The acronym "USA" is somewhat ambiguous here. It is possible that it was used in reference to American officials more generally or those of the United Soccer Association specifically.

[67] Glanville, "U.S. Soccer: Long View."

world – and watched through benevolent eyes, we hope."[68] The benevolent eyes of the world certainly looked to American shores – and they did not limit their focus to the refereeing scene.

A First Step: The National Coaching Scheme

"Soccer in the United States is a challenge for every coach," noted Dettmar Cramer, a FIFA coach whose services were first lent to the national body in the late 1960s. "If the USSFA wants to progress and to go onward to international level, time is precious. Good things take time – that is correct – but it is necessary to start immediately. Every journey begins with the first step."[69] America's "soccer men" had taken that step some two decades earlier, when they started to organize visits of prominent foreign coaches. A number of British personalities guided the program through its initial stages, setting the stage for Cramer's subsequent visit. In making these arrangements, the USSFA answered a call Rous had made during his American travels. "No longer can you just sit back and let the game develop," noted the FIFA chief. "The administrators have got to be educational."[70]

Matt Busby: 1950–53

Though high-profile coaching tours did not become a standard part of the USSFA's activities until the mid-1960s, the national body established a good working relationship with Matt Busby at the start of the previous decade. A Scotsman who took

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[68] Aston, "Reflections on a Referees' Course Tour in North America," 28.
[69] Dettmar Cramer, "U.S. Soccer a 'Challenge,'" in *1971 Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Clive Toye (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1971), 38–43, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL.
[70] Referees Addresses, September 18–19, 1962, p. 1, LHOF.

the reins of Manchester United in 1945, Busby had an immediate impact at Old Trafford, winning the FA Cup, the Football League, and the FA Charity Shield within his first seven years there. In so doing, he built a side known the world over for its attacking verve, the result of versatile players who could seamlessly interchange positions. "This," wrote the *Times* (London), "has given the team a certain buoyancy. It has prevented the players themselves becoming sterile in thought and mechanical in performance."[71]

On May 7, 1950, a nineteen-man delegation led by Busby and William Maclean, a club director, arrived in New York on the RMS Queen Mary. The journey had been a long one, though the group, "nattily attired in blue jackets," made a prim and proper introduction. "We are here for a vacation," offered MacLean with some candor, "but also to show you our brand of first-class English soccer. Above all, we have come in the interest of good-will between our peoples." Three days later, United would begin its work to this effect, kicking off a twelve-match North American tour dubbed "one of the most difficult assignments ever faced by a visiting foreign team."[72]

The trip was part of a broader series of "dream games," noteworthy friendlies that pitted visiting foreign teams against one another – and, on occasion, local outfits. For the USSFA, the matches were a way to pique public interest with "teams of high prestige, renown, and outstanding playing skill."[73] They were also justified on account of their

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[71] "Manchester United Champions," *Times* (London), April 28, 1952. "Sir Matt Busby," *National Football Museum*, http://www.nationalfootballmuseum.com/halloffame/sir-matt-busby.
[72] "British Team Here for 11-Match Tour," *New York Times*, May 8, 1950; "Manchester Here for 11 Games," *Soccer News*, May 1950, Werner Mieth Collection (hereafter WMC), LHOF. Though the tour was initially reported to consist of eleven matches, United ended up playing twelve times. Bill Graham, "Busby, British Star, to Run Soccer Clinic," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 25, 1953.
[73] USSFA Reports, 1952–53, p. 8, LHOF.

educational value, as traveling sides could demonstrate technique to those less well versed. In the words of George Fishwick, "It is a form of, shall we say, coaching when our local groups attend these games and see these things happen, especially the Juniors and Juveniles."[74] An editorial in the monthly bulletin *Soccer News* encouraged readers to study the systems of play and ball control on offer. "Soccer without system," it concluded, "is just kicking and is not worthy of the name."[75]

The American Soccer League (ASL) positioned the enterprises as the "pinnacle of Soccer events."[76] Though this was to be expected of a frequent "dream game" sponsor, the national press also waxed enthusiastic – often where United was concerned. Its 1950 tour provided spectators a glimpse of world-class football, as evidenced in a 7–1 "exhibition of footwork" against a Los Angeles all-star selection, in which the "faking, feinting, teamwork, speed, and control of the ball were often almost unbelievable."[77] The ensuing match, a twelve-goal thriller against Atlas of Mexico, "sent 15,000 fans away with their own screams echoing in their ears," according to reporter Dick Hyland.[78] The positive tone extended to individual players like Jim Delaney, the "glittering ball juggler" to whom supporters dedicated poetry and song.[79] Media members hyped the off-field spectacle, too, drawing attention to the side's celebrity following and estimated value. "No entire squad of American football players – not even the world's championship

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[74] USSFA Minutes, July 3–4, 1965, p. 22, LHOF.
[75] "Let's Learn from Visitors," *Soccer News*, May 1950, WMC, LHOF.
[76] "Greetings and Salutations to Manchester United–Stuttgart Kickers," *American Soccer League News*, May 25, 1952, Ray Adler Personal Collection.
[77] Dick Hyland, "Manchester, Atlas Soccer Teams Triumph," *Los Angeles Times*, June 1, 1950.
[78] Dick Hyland, "Soccer Teams Wind Up in 6–6 Deadlock," *Los Angeles Times*, June 5, 1950.
[79] Chuck Hillinger, "Local Woman Awaits Visiting Soccer Star," *Los Angeles Times*, May 27, 1950; Dick Niven, "Scot Coaches Leave Mark; New Talent Worth Watching," *Soccer News*, May 1950, WMC, LHOF.

Eagles from Philadelphia – can approach that," wrote the *Los Angeles Times* of the million-dollar price tag. "As a matter of fact, you'd have to pick eleven players like Joe Dimaggio, Ted Williams, etc., out of major league baseball to eclipse this."[80]

If the 1950 voyage whetted the appetite of the American public, United's return trip two years later offered still more appeal. Having just completed its first English League triumph since the 1910–11 season, the club boasted a collection of players that Busby had groomed from promising starlets into first-team regulars.[81] The twelve-match tour roused public interest, especially United's encounter with English rivals Tottenham Hotspur – part of a double-header at Yankee Stadium touted as "the greatest soccer fare ever offered this side of the Atlantic."[82] An ebullient *American Soccer League News* noted its confidence that "as in the past, 'United' will give us a display of their famed soccer skill, and help us to build soccer into a Major Sport in the United States." It then concluded, "During their short stay with us, again may we extend the 'Hand of Friendship' which has so long existed between the two great Countries."[83]

Though "dream games" created much fanfare, some administrators worried that they did little for the game's long-term development. The dearth of top-class local players meant American sides were less of a draw at the gate, prompting promoters to prefer

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[80] Paul Zimmerman, "Sportscripts," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1950. See, too, Braven Dyer, "Sports Parade," *Los Angeles Times*, May 27, 1952; "Famous Fans Greet British Soccer Team," *Los Angeles Times*, May 29, 1950; "Top British Teams Clash Here Today," *New York Times*, June 15, 1952.

[81] "Top English Soccer Teams to Play Here," *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1952; Bill Graham, "Manchester Set for Boot Debut Here Sunday," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 16, 1952; "Manchester Team Plays Here Today," *New York Times*, May 18, 1952.

[82] "Manchester Team Plays Here Today"; Bill Graham, "Soccer Menu Lists Blue Plate Special Sunday," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 13, 1952; "Top British Teams Clash Here Today."

[83] "Welcome Manchester United – Champs of England," *American Soccer League News*, May 18, 1952, Leslie Millman Personal Collection.

matches that featured two foreign teams.[84] This did not sit well with some. In its 1953–54 report, the USSFA foreign relations committee noted an emerging feeling that "the American boy should have more opportunity to play against foreign invading teams rather than have foreign teams play against each other in this country."[85] As the fifties turned into the sixties, concern grew still further that "summer spectaculars" functioned not as a complement to the "drive in soccer football," but rather its principal part.[86] The need was to parlay tours into concrete developmental efforts. In Busby, these worlds found a bridge.

At a January 1953 meeting at New York's Hotel Governor Clinton, the national commission took part in a lengthy debate about bringing a foreign coach to the United States. The conversation was not new – delegates had expressed their desire for such a venture for some years.[87] "What seems to be lacking in soccer training is the fact that we've never had any really first rate teachers to take the boys in hand and show them the finer points of the game," wrote an editorial in *Soccer News*, a monthly newspaper with close USSFA links. "Why continue to delay? We have the material but require the teacher."[88] Realizing that time was of the essence, America's "soccer men" instructed McGuire, then the organization's president, to contact Busby regarding a potential visit.

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[84] USSFA Minutes, July 3–4, 1965, pp. 21–22, LHOF.
[85] USSFA Reports, 1953–54, p. 7, LHOF.
[86] USSFA Minutes, July 3–4, 1965, p. 24, LHOF.
[87] USSFA Reports, 1952–53, pp. 1–3, LHOF.
[88] "Let's Learn from Visitors."

The Scotsman's success in identifying and nurturing young talent boded well, in theory, for local development.[89]

News that the sides had reached an agreement for a series of clinics was welcomed by the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, which noted the manager's role in molding a once-pedestrian United into "one of the greatest postwar professional units."[90] A two-month summer jaunt through the country for technical and tactical demonstrations was hoped to prove similarly influential.[91] Reports suggested that the Scotsman was well received and that his work generated much excitement – a public relations success, at the very least.[92] Yet his instructional efforts went beyond marketing bluster, as he shared his knowledge with the country's coaches and youth groups. Wrote New Jersey delegate Walter Rush:

> I have been so impressed by Matt Busby's visit to New Jersey that I am petitioning this body to consider Commissioning Mr. Busby to put into pamphlet form his formula for teaching and training the youthful player, and his valuable advice in the proper coaching methods used so successfully in the training of the outstanding English and other continental players. I am also petitioning this body to consider commissioning Mr. Matt Busby to have a sound film made when he returns home, recording for future use all the vast storehouse of knowledge that he has gained in his many years as an outstanding player and coach. This film should prove invaluable for many years to come, as a means to teach, not only the men who will have the task of training our youth of the future, but to the youthful player himself.[93]

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[89] USSFA Reports, 1952–53, pp. 2–3, LHOF; Bill Graham, "Manchester Manager in Soccer Tour Here," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 27, 1953.
[90] Graham, "Busby, British Star, to Run Soccer Clinic."
[91] Graham, "Manchester Manager in Soccer Tour Here"; Bill Graham, "Pair of Foreign Soccer Teams to Play Stadium," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 3, 1953. For similar optimism, see, too, "Soccer Notes," *Monongahela (PA) Daily Republican*, January 20, 1953.
[92] USSFA Reports, 1952–53, pp. 1, 8, LHOF.
[93] Ibid., pp. 41–42.

Busby agreed to produce a film – and the USSFA did not have to wait until he returned to England. Glenn Warner, head of the National Soccer Coaches Association of America, reached out regarding the possibility before the United boss departed. This way, Warner said he told him, "When you go back, we will still have Matt Busby here." In searing heat at the Naval Academy in Annapolis, Busby obliged photographers who took some eight hundred feet of film. "He worked. Boy, he worked!" exclaimed Warner. "He must have lost ten pounds." The result was a Technicolor production suitable for youth players, which Warner called "the greatest thing I had ever seen."[94] In the years that followed, copies of the film were kept circulating, earning plaudits and leading to requests for more such work.[95]

Busby made one more important stop before his departure – July's annual convention in New Jersey. Taking the floor at the Hotel Haddon Hall, he was met by prolonged applause that grew more rapturous as he detailed an experience that was at once "most interesting" and "most enjoyable." Highlighting his pleasure at the progress made in youth development, Busby urged the USSFA to keep up the good work. Before bidding his colleagues a northern Scottish "Bon Accord," he provided them with one final show of support – this time emotional. "We are patiently waiting for you to take

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[94] USSFA Minutes, July 6–7, 1953, pp. 37–38, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1961–62, p. 26, LHOF. See, too, Bill Graham, "Soccer," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 2, 1953; Bill Graham, "Soccer," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, August 6, 1953; Bill Graham, "Soccer," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, September 22, 1953.
[95] USSFA Reports, 1954–55, p. 16, LHOF.

soccer here and make a right go of it," he told convention-goers. "We feel the effect will be to the benefit of soccer all over the world."[96]

By all accounts, Busby's visit was to the benefit of the game in the United States. Though the USSFA would not fashion another such project until the following decade, the United boss showed that foreign involvement in the American setup could blend promotion with development. It also showed that the developmental and the social elements could interact. "Another important thing, as we go into this game of ours," noted Busby, "is the friendship we get out of it, travelling around from one town to another, from one country to another."[97]

Jesse Carver and Alan Rogers: 1964–65

When Jesse Carver arrived to the United States for a coaching tour in October 1964, it was the first such effort that the USSFA had sponsored since Matt Busby's visit more than a decade earlier.[98] Finances were a constant concern in the interim, leading Carlton Reilly, a representative of the Intercollegiate Soccer Football Association, to question the fiscal sense of funding large-scale ventures.[99] Yet a constellation of factors would soon force the USSFA's hand. The national team had not reached the finals of a World Cup since 1950 and there was a growing belief that coaching offered an answer – the "fundamental answer," according to George Fishwick. As new faces sought entry into

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[96] USSFA Minutes, July 6–7, 1953, pp. 11, 41–42, LHOF.
[97] Ibid., p. 42.
[98] "English Coach Imported to Conduct Clinics in U.S.," *Soccer News*, October 1964, USA Correspondence, Box 1932–64, FIFADC; Norman Gillespie, "Quebec Soccer Officials Impressed by Weatherall," *Montreal Gazette*, December 9, 1964.
[99] USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, p. 25, LHOF.

the field, the logical response was to "feed these coaches with material" – a notion Fishwick acknowledged in his 1963–64 presidential report, which called for a nine-month tour of America by a prominent European coach.[100]

Within this context, Carver – a former England international and well-traveled manager – embarked on a journey of some two months. His work put him in contact with a broad spectrum of scholastic coaches, junior players, educational administrators, and civil servants.[101] Fishwick painted a portrait of a man who coupled a tireless dedication with a rare ability to explain advanced ideas in easily understandable terms. "All who were exposed to his sessions were most complimentary," noted the then USSFA president – even if the venture was far shorter than what he had originally envisioned. Despite a cost of nearly $2,000, the national commission felt that the project was more than justified. The gratifying feedback it received from those involved and a palpable demand for similar engagements in the future provided cause for optimism. When the U.S. State Department and FIFA expressed interest in lending a hand, this optimism proved all the more justified.[102]

Washington made good on its offer, helping to fund Alan Rogers's six-month visit beginning in the autumn of 1965. Crossing the country four times, Rogers, who previously had coaching engagements in the Philippines and Africa, took part in a

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[100] USSFA Reports, 1961–62, p. 27, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1962–63, p. 40, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1963–64, p. 2, LHOF.
[101] "English Coach Imported to Conduct Clinics in U.S."; "English Soccer Coach at Clinics Here," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 21, 1964.
[102] USSFA Reports, 1964–65, pp. 1–2, 6, 25, LHOF.

combination of clinics, speaking engagements, and film screenings.[103] In a letter to his native England halfway into the trip, Rogers noted that he was "more than encouraged by the reception by the American-born enthusiast." The efforts to "get the game moving" in the colleges inspired particular confidence, given the "drive and initiative" of scholastic coaches.[104] Reports filtered in suggesting that Rogers's work was enlightening and that he proved himself "a most dedicated coach and technician of the game." The financial toll of the tour, however, rekindled concerns about the viability of such efforts. One group of administrators reasoned that the money would be better spent to directly assist amateur coaches or a national team manager. The USSFA turned to Zurich in response.[105]

Dettmar Cramer: 1968–74

By the beginning of the 1970s, Dettmar Cramer was a well-traveled man. "FIFA's outstanding Soccer Missionary," as one USSFA report called him, had taken part in a tireless trot across the globe at the request of the umbrella body.[106] His coaching work along the way earned him a number of distinctions – an honorary doctorate in Taiwan, the Order of the Sacred Treasure in Japan, and Honorary Chief of the Sioux Nation.[107] Not surprisingly, his services were perpetually in demand; those who secured them could rightfully relish the administrative coup.

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[103] USSFA Reports, 1965–66, pp. 5–6, 8, 30, LHOF.
[104] Alan Rogers to Stanley Rous, January 14, 1966, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[105] USSFA Reports, 1965–66, pp. 3, 14, 30, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, June 25–26, 1966, pp. 11, 18–19, LHOF.
[106] USSFA Reports, 1969–70, p. 1, LHOF.
[107] "Honours and Distinctions," *FIFA News*, February 1968, 45; "USA," *FIFA News*, August 1970, 285; Sokichiro Ushiki, "Japan," *FIFA News*, October 1971, 450–451.

Cramer was hired to begin work as a FIFA Coach in 1967, upon the expiration of his contract with the Deutscher Fußball-Bund. Until that point, he had been in charge of the West German amateur and youth squads and assisted the senior team to a second-place finish at England '66 – an accomplishment for which he was widely credited. After assuming his new position in May, Cramer embarked on a fourteen-month tour through Asia and Oceania. Reports of Cramer's early work indicated success, prompting FIFA's technical development committee to extend the terms of the deal and offer his services to countries in Africa and the Americas. Among the list of potential recipients was the United States.[108]

The timing of FIFA's offer could not have been much better for the USSFA. The national body was in the midst of revamping its development program, of which coaching was to play a prominent part.[109] In Cramer, the USSFA found both an available option and a natural fit. As Brian Glanville of the *New York Times* put it, "Cramer has already drawn up an elaborate program for turning out soccer coaches virtually on an assembly line, subjecting them to courses of the highest intensity, in order to overcome the problem posed by the immense distances of the United States."[110] His program was as

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[108] "Mr. Dettmar Cramer as FIFA Coach to Asia," *FIFA News*, November 1966, 5; "FIFA Coaching Scheme for Africa and CONCACAF," *FIFA News*, April 1968, 77; Brian Glanville, "Hope for U.S. Soccer," *New York Times*, July 12, 1970.

[109] USSFA Reports, 1966–67, p. 51, LHOF; Harry J. Saunders, "East Sees a Silver Lining," in *1971 Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Clive Toye (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1971), 13–17, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL. For a succinct overview of the development plan, see Clive Toye, "Soccer Ambition Unlimited and a Major Programme Now Under Way in USA," *FIFA News*, October 1969, 264–265.

[110] Glanville, "Hope for U.S. Soccer."

comprehensive as it was rigorous, addressing all aspects of the modern game – from technique and tactics to physiology and psychology.[111]

In the spring of 1968, the national commission expressed interest in forging a relationship with the manager, deeming his specialized knowledge valuable to development.[112] A few months later, following a prolonged stay in Curaçao, Cramer made his way Stateside for a five-week swing of clinics and camps across the country. The national development scheme, he insisted, required greater centralization. "Everyone goes his own way now," he observed. "There is no training now for coaches, no examinations, no program."[113] His work seemed to go over well. A report from New York indicated that Cramer "opened new avenues of thoughts" and convinced administrators of the need for knowledgeable coaches who can "captivate the spirit and the imagination of the American youngsters."[114]

Though brief, the visit was enough to pique the USSFA's desire for a continued partnership. At the Guadalajara FIFA Congress in October 1968, the national body approached Cramer about a return visit.[115] President Robert Guelker contacted Zurich in March to follow up on the matter. His tone betrayed a sense of urgency. "Earlier we corresponded concerning the case of Dettmar Cramer during the summer months of this

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[111] "First FIFA Coaching School in Japan," *FIFA News*, August 1969, 216–19; Peter Velappan, "Second FIFA Coaching School for Asia," *FIFA News*, September 1972, 385–89; Freddie Sekitto-Kibirige, "Visit by the FIFA Coach," *FIFA News*, April 1973, 153–54; United States Soccer Federation, *USSF National Coaching Schools* (1976), mailer, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 14, LL.
[112] USSFA Reports, 1967–68, p. 25, LHOF.
[113] Elliot Brown, "U.S. Soccer Lacks National Goals," *Stroudsburg (PA) Pocono Record*, August 16, 1968.
[114] Arthur J. Gabrielsen, "Southern New York Reports," in *1970 Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Bill Graham (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1970), 115, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL.
[115] USSFA Reports, 1968–69, p. 9, LHOF.

year," he began. "As we are in dire need of developing qualified coaches, we are anxious to hear of the possibilities of Mr. Cramer's availability."[116] FIFA ultimately agreed to the request, paving the way for Cramer's tour of three regional junior camps – the "most successful yet," according to Guelker.[117]

As the establishment of a national coaching system drew nearer, Cramer emerged as the obvious candidate to lead it. "A man of Cramer's stature," wrote Glanville, "would do much to reassure the many intelligent high school and college coaches in the United States that the USSFA really meant business."[118] Officials in Zurich gave the green light for an extended visit in 1970, when Cramer would begin to lay the foundation for the national scheme. The USSFA could hardly contain its delight. "This man is so much in demand around the world, we are most fortunate to have his services," wrote a giddy Guelker. "Once again, we are thankful to the FIFA for this splendid cooperation in helping us to promote the game in the States. While there are many avenues for development in our vast country, I believe coaching has top priority."[119] Publicly, the USSFA offered a similar outlook. Its yearbook told readers of the coach's influence in Japan, where his work with the Olympic team culminated in a third-place finish at the 1968 Mexico City Games.[120] The use of Japan as an example was a measured one, given

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[116] Robert M. Guelker to Helmut Käser, March 12, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[117] USSFA Reports, 1968–69, p. 1a, LHOF. See, too, Arthur J. Gabrielsen, "Southern New York State Association," in *1969 Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Bill Graham (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1969), 93, Meyer Collection, Box 5, Folder 8, LL.
[118] Glanville, "Hope for U.S. Soccer."
[119] USSFA Reports, 1968–69, p. 2a, LHOF.
[120] Bill Graham, ed., "FIFA Coach in U.S.," in *1970 Soccer Yearbook* (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1970), 38, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL.

that the United States shared a similar competitive history. The implication, however subtle, was that Cramer's bronze touch might become a Midas one in his new environs.

Cramer's cross-country coaching tour on either side of the 1970 World Cup was well received. "You listen when Cramer talks," noted journalist Omer Crane following a turnout of several hundred coaches and youth players for clinics in Fresno. "Not because of his guttural German accent, but because here is a man whose credentials are peerless."[121] Hans F.W. Stierle, president of the rapidly growing American Youth Soccer Association (AYSO), contacted Zurich to indicate his "wish that [Cramer's] influence in the development of soccer in this country will be felt for some time to come." He also took the time to write Cramer directly in his native German, highlighting AYSO's elation at the "excellent talks" and pledging full support of any continued work.[122]

Subsequent accounts of Cramer's activity were similarly positive. Reports from Washington and New York suggested that the German's work was "the outstanding soccer highlight of the year" and "the 'golden stone' of the state association's entire life." Al Miller, coach of Hartwick College in Oneonta, paid homage to Cramer's wisdom and personality, dubbing him a "master teacher" who "cast his spell" over clinic attendees. The general consensus was perhaps best captured by Donald Greer, who noted with some eloquence, "There is no doubt in anybody's mind that a clinic by Dettmar Cramer is a

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[121] Omer Crane, "Soccer's Premier Coach Visits," *Fresno (CA) Bee*, April 1, 1970.
[122] Hans F.W. Stierle to Dettmar Cramer, August 30, 1970, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Hans F.W. Stierle to Helmut Käser, September 1, 1970, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC. See, too, "Soccer's Traveling Ambassador," *Fairbanks (AK) Daily News-Miner*, April 15, 1970. My thanks to Florian Hemme for help with the translation.

tonic to those that have been in the game for any length of time, and an inspiration to those just starting."[123]

In an effort reminiscent of the Matt Busby coaching film, the USSFA commissioned Cramer to produce an educational pamphlet. "The demand was overwhelming," wrote John McKeon, chairman of the national body's promotion and publications committee. "Not only was it used within the coaching schools conducted by the Federation, but it was also sold in college bookstores, by mail order, and at national conventions." Within a short period of time, some 2,200 copies were purchased – enough to nearly deplete two rounds of printing.[124] Cramer, with characteristic veteran savvy, furthered his good reputation with a series of emotional appeals that predicted a bright future for football in America. In a lengthy appraisal of the country's progress, he indicated that the game was a "sleeping giant" in the United States, whose rich talent-base needed only to be nurtured in "the American way." The challenge was steep, but a calculated approach could show that in football, as in life more broadly, the United States was "the country of unlimited possibilities."[125]

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[123] Donald Greer, "Soccer Grows in Far West," in *1971 Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Clive Toye (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1971), 32, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL; Clive Toye, ed., "Focus on Youth: Washington," in *1971 Soccer Yearbook* (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1971), 155, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL; Philip Crisafulli, "S. New York," in *1971 Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Clive Toye (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1971), 209, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL; Al Miller, "The USSFA National Coaching School," in *1972 Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Dave Hirshey (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1972), 59, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL.

[124] USSFA Reports, 1973–74, p. 21, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 15, LL.

[125] Cramer, "U.S. Soccer a 'Challenge.'" See, too, USSFA Reports, 1969–70, pp. 24–25, LHOF. With regard to potential issues, Cramer noted a lack of cooperation among the nation's various football groups.

Eager to redress decades of competitive disappointment, the USSFA made plans to select a permanent manager for its senior team. Though the organization's depleted treasury posed a challenge, James McGuire made the matter a key element of his presidential platform.[126] Cramer was pegged as a viable candidate from the outset. "We must have Dettmar Cramer," noted a 1970 report on development. "Not as soon as possible, not when we've had another meeting to talk about it… but now, right now."[127] When the decision was made three years later to move ahead with an offer, McGuire wrote state affiliates to ask them to help with the concomitant fundraising. "The decision to offer Dettmar Cramer a contract and the subsequent decisions on raising the required funding are the most important decisions that will ever have been made by this association," he noted. "I know you'll be as enthusiastic as we are to learn of these plans, for it is now the first step for us to become a bonafide participant in the world family of soccer."[128]

Cramer indicated a keen interest in taking on a challenge of such magnitude.[129] The USSFA would have to wait another year, but it finally got its man, reportedly beating out a host of other suitors. The parties agreed to a lucrative four-year deal that, to paraphrase historian David Wangerin, effectively placed the American game in the German's hands. Cramer was to be given the reins of the World Cup and Olympic sides and take on the duties of director of coaching. Ever the committed worker, he also vowed

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[126] USSFA Reports, 1969–70, pp. 1, 18, LHOF; James P. McGuire to All State Association Presidents, June 5, 1973, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 13, LL.
[127] USSFA Minutes, July 10–12, 1970, p. 29, LHOF.
[128] James P. McGuire to All State Association Presidents, June 5, 1973, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 13, LL.
[129] USSFA Reports, 1969–70, p. 22, LHOF.

to make himself available to the country's referees. "This country is ready now," proclaimed Cramer. "With the reservoir of good native talent in the North American Soccer League and the rapidly improving talent coming out of the colleges, the players are now available to be blended into a strong national team."[130]

An enthusiastic *New York Times* wrote that, with the appointment, the domestic game "took its longest kick forward." American officials, who had been prepared to "give anything" to procure the German's services, echoed the sentiment. "For the past six years, Dettmar has inspired tremendous confidence amongst over 2,000 coaches who have become acquainted with his expertise," noted Gene Edwards, a USSFA vice president. "We are looking forward to benefitting from his knowledge and experience." James McGuire called the move the "most significant development in the game of soccer in this country."[131] His enthusiasm spilled over into a letter he subsequently wrote to FIFA general secretary Helmut Käser. "We feel we have the best qualified man in football to help us develop the game in America to the level it has reached elsewhere in the world," he noted with confidence. Yet the most striking aspect of the missive was its appreciative tone, which, though perhaps not surprising for a man with close ties to Zurich, spoke to the USSFA's international experiences over the previous quarter century:

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[130] Alex Yannis, "Cramer of Germany Signs a 4-Year Contract to Push Development of Soccer in This Country," *New York Times*, July 28, 1974; Eric Charleson, "Cramer Could Aid Locals," *Newburgh (NY) Evening News*, October 2, 1974; Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 163–64.

[131] United States Soccer Federation, "Dettmar Cramer, World-Renowned FIFA Coach, Named United States National Coach and Director of Coaching," press release, July 27, 1974, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 13, LL; Yannis, "Cramer of Germany Signs a 4-Year Contract to Push Development of Soccer in This Country."

> Without your understanding and cooperation, the progress we've made up to this moment under his direction would just not have happened. For this and much, much other cooperative assistance, we shall always be eternally grateful. Our hopes and plans for the future of the game are now ready to be crystallized, and when it happens, a good share of the credit will be due not only the FIFA, but persons like yourself, Sir Stanley, René Courte, Harry Cavan and others. To all of you, we say a sincere thank you.[132]

CONCLUSION

Although the USSFA could look upon its future with cheery optimism in the summer of 1974, its affairs would soon turn bleak. A mere six months into his new position, Cramer left to assume the manager's post at European champions Bayern Munich. The German offer was alluring, particularly in light of lingering administrative issues in the United States.[133] Yet the disappointing end to Cramer's tenure should not overshadow what had been a good relationship with him – and the international football system more broadly – over the previous two and one-half decades. It is telling that, despite Cramer's leaving, his legacy continued to be celebrated as a "vital element in the growth of U.S. Soccer."[134]

Cramer was, of course, but one of many foreign personalities who factored prominently into this growth. A parade of managers, former players, and administrators developed strong working ties to the USSFA, which ensured its "pattern of football," to borrow Stanley Rous's turn of phrase, started to look similar to that of other countries.[135] If the United States could chart its course in its own national pastimes, in football it was not afforded the same luxury. The point was not lost on Connecticut representative John

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[132] James P. McGuire to Helmut Käser, August 2, 1974, USA Correspondence, Box 1973–76, FIFADC.
[133] Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 163–164.
[134] United States Soccer Federation, *USSF National Coaching Schools* (1976).
[135] USSFA Reports, 1962–63, p. 21, LHOF.

Hari, who wrote Zurich in 1967 to inquire about developmental assistance. "I remember having read that the FIFA has instituted a full-time Educational and Development Department to assist affiliated Organizations which are backward in football," he began – before adding, with candid self-awareness, "I believe that we here in the USA easily qualify for that category!"[136]

Yet the international links America's "soccer men" forged went beyond developmental assistance to encompass important social bonds. Indeed, the social arena provided them much-needed respite from their daily trials and tribulations. The courtesies they received contributed to a sense of existential reassurance; those they offered became a source of institutional pride. It is fitting that this interpersonal dimension was captured not only in the words of the national body's delegates, but also those of a Canadian guest. "I think this universal game of ours is doing that. It is creating international relationships," noted Arthur Arnold, no stranger to American hospitality, at the 1956 USSFA annual convention. "I sincerely hope and trust that feeling will exist for many years to come."[137]

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[136] John Hari to Helmut Käser, January 9, 1967, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[137] USSFA Minutes, July 7–8, 1956, p. 4, LHOF.

Chapter Two: The Roof and the Cellar: Commercial Sport and the International Soccer League

October 1969

"Orange blazers," uttered a car park attendant as he watched the Dallas Tornado filter into the Eastville Stadium ahead of its clash with Bristol Rovers. "Them's all wearing orange blazers." Norman Fox of the *Times* (London) continued in much the same vein. "That was only the first extravagant thing about Dallas," he wrote. "Later they arrived on the pitch in pale blue shorts and tangerine shirts."[1] The entrance seemed befitting a club from the North American Soccer League, the nascent professional entity that sought to attract spectator interest by draping its product in bright colors, uncouth team names, and a general aura of rock 'n' roll.[2] By the referee's final whistle, however, the sense of bemusement the visitors initially sparked had given way to unexpected acclaim. "A strange cocktail Dallas may be, but the mixture blended into a surprisingly attractive team," recounted Fox. "Dallas were not viewed as a gregarious novelty any longer."[3]

The same could not be said for the NASL more broadly. Indeed, Dallas's fashion faux pas was modest relative to the more egregious examples of marketing chutzpah for which the league became notorious. Stories abound of gorilla mascots, nickel beer nights,

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[1] Norman Fox, "Bristol Pleasantly Occupied by Tornado," *Times* (London), October 14, 1969.
[2] David Tossell, *Playing For Uncle Sam: The Brits' Story of the North American Soccer League* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2003); Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 121–216; Ian Plenderleith, *Rock 'N' Roll Soccer: The Short Life and Fast Times of the North American Soccer League* (London: Icon Books, 2014).
[3] Fox, "Bristol Pleasantly Occupied by Tornado."

and prancing cheerleaders.[4] Perhaps nothing was as drastic as the development of the indoor game, what sociologist John J. Sewart describes as "a staccato mix of speeding, crashing bodies and ricocheting, bright orange balls."[5] In comparison to football's humbler origins, the United States experience looked every bit that of a modern-day spectacle, replete with, as English wing-half Roy Cheetham put it, "all the ballyhoo of American showmanship."[6]

The penchant for "razzmatazz" was, inevitably, woven into concerns about appealing to a citizenry tied to its own pastimes. It was also woven into a commercial sport ethic that sought to turn pastime into profit. Historian David Wangerin does well to capture the league's ethos, a "breathtakingly naïve assumption that soccer was merely a commodity whose success in North America required little more than marketing."[7] This attitude differed markedly from those abroad, where football remained laden in tradition and unexploited as a saleable product.

If the crass commercialism of the NASL fit a narrative of American exceptionalism vis-à-vis the commercial sport ethic, the story of its predecessor, the International Soccer League, suggests a more complex reality. A quasi-professional circuit based out of New York from 1960 until 1965, the ISL brought football to the United States on a level theretofore unseen. This chapter examines the understudied ISL,

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[4] Kenneth Turan, "Rochester Gets Its Kicks," *Washington Post*, September 13, 1970; Hal Quinn, "A Good Kick in the Grass," *Maclean's*, September 3, 1979, 38.
[5] John J. Sewart, "The Commodification of Sport," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 22, no. 3 (1987): 180. See, too, Frank Deford, "Show, Sex And Suburbs," *Sports Illustrated*, February 28, 1983, 62–76.
[6] Roy Cheetham, "America Gave Me," magazine clipping, March 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[7] Wangerin, *Distant Corners*, 206.

tracing the tense interactions of its founder and organizer, William D. Cox, with members of the USSFA.[8] An entrepreneur who, for all his sporting passions, built a reputation as a businessman first and foremost, Cox sought to make his venture commercially viable by importing high-profile teams from abroad. The lack of American entries put him at odds with members of the national body, who increasingly saw the project and Cox's political maneuverings as a neglect of the grassroots. Their skepticism of private promoters, in turn, echoed not the American belief in commercial sport, but rather the British concept of "sport for sport's sake."

COMMERCIAL SPORT: A TRANSATLANTIC DICHOTOMY?

The difference between American and British athletic ideals, according to Texas entrepreneur Lamar Hunt, is one between commercial sport and "sport for sport's sake."[9] This distinction can strike one as somewhat crude, but scholars of American sport have traced the intermingling of athletic and business interests as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. For Melvin Adelman, the period marked the first time a sport –

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[8] Tom Dunmore of the blog *Pitch Invasion* has produced an excellent four-part series on the league. See, too, Dennis J. Seese, *The Rebirth of Professional Soccer in America: The Strange Days of the United Soccer Association* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 11–19.

[9] Jeff Prugh, "Hunt's Aim: Modernize an Old-Fashioned Sport," *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1971. There is a rich dialogue on the idea of autotelic play within the field of sport philosophy. Bernard Suits's work remains a classic and a host of others has contributed meaningfully to the dialogue. See, for instance, Bernard Suits, *The Grasshopper: Games, Life, and Utopia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); Adrian Walsh and Richard Giulianotti, *Ethics, Money and Sport: This Sporting Mammon* (London: Routledge, 2007), 32–64; Stephen E. Schmid, "Beyond Autotelic Play," *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 38, no. 2 (2011): 149–66; Heather L. Reid, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Sport* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 31–44; Randolph Feezell, *Sport, Philosophy, and Good Lives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 1–28; Emily Ryall, "Playing with Words: Further Comment on Suits' Definition," in *The Philosophy of Play*, ed. Emily Ryall, Wendy Russell, and Malcolm MacLean (London: Routledge, 2013), 44–53.

harness racing – achieved commercial success.[10] Soon thereafter, in the late 1880s, Albert Goodwill Spalding led two teams of baseball players on a world tour, promoting his sporting goods business and opening up potential markets for his products.[11] During the interwar period, American entrepreneurs used the Olympic Games to hawk products to previously unexploited consumer segments, taking international sport from upper-crust pursuit to product for mass consumption.[12] Most recently, Michael Jordan has served as a prime exemplar for the evolving contours of the business-sport nexus and provided a lens into the makings of a new capitalist order.[13]

Britain's history, by contrast, has been marked by a palpable hostility toward the marriage of business and sport. Though the country's athletic pastimes were commercialized as early as the nineteenth century, football clubs rarely functioned with an eye to maximizing profit. Rather, sporting motives informed administrative decision-making, while financiers invested their money out of a sense of civic duty – and the prestige associated therein. It is telling that when American sport managers readily

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[10] Melvin L. Adelman, "The First Modern Sport in America: Harness Racing in New York City, 1825-1870," *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 1 (1981): 5–32.

[11] Mark Lamster, *Spalding's World Tour: The Epic Adventure That Took Baseball Around the Globe – And Made It America's Game* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2006); Thomas W. Zeiler, *Ambassadors in Pinstripes: The Spalding World Baseball Tour and the Birth of the American Empire* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Thomas W. Zeiler, "Basepaths to Empire: Race and the Spalding World Baseball Tour," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6, no. 2 (2007): 179–207. On Spalding more broadly, see Peter Levine, *A.G. Spalding and the Rise of Baseball: The Promise of American Sport* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[12] Barbara J. Keys, "Spreading Peace, Democracy, and Coca-Cola®: Sport and American Cultural Expansion in the 1930s," *Diplomatic History* 28, no. 2 (2004): 165–96. Washington diplomats, recognizing a symbiosis with their goal of selling the "American way," tapped in accordingly. On the use of swimmer Johnny Weissmuller in this regard, see Mark Dyreson, "Johnny Weissmuller and the Old Global Capitalism: The Origins of the Federal Blueprint for Selling American Culture to the World," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 2 (2008): 268–83; Mark Dyreson, "Marketing Weissmuller to the World: Hollywood's Olympics and Federal Schemes for Americanization through Sport," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 2 (2008): 284–306.

[13] Walter LaFeber, *Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

tapped into the economic potential of television in the 1950s, their counterparts across the pond proved far more reluctant. Even as profound social and economic changes altered the British landscape and opened up the potential for a new leisure culture, many of those who controlled sport held fast to traditional ideas about amateurism and the manner in which games should be experienced.[14]

Yet a simple American-British dichotomy is, for lack of a better term, simplistic. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the countries diverged in their athletic development, when baseball's model for commercial sport turned away from the "amateur hegemony" of Britain. Furthermore, American elites adopted and adapted the sporting ideals of the mother country, be it a belief in amateurism or a distrust of business interests. As essayist Lincoln Allison concludes, "It is as American to be concerned about the greed, unscrupulousness, and vulgarity of Major League sport as it is to follow it."[15]

The International Soccer League inspired both interest and concern, largely due to the man responsible for its establishment. Despite an interest in sport that the *New York Times* characterized as "deep and abiding," William D. Cox was unabashed in espousing

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[14] J.P.W. Mallalieu, "Sport in the Modern World," *New Statesman*, November 8, 1958, 638–41; Peter J. Sloane, "The Economics of Professional Football: The Football Club as a Utility Maximiser," *Scottish Journal of Political Economy* 18, no. 2 (1971): 121–46; Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 280–343; Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793–1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Allison, "The Curious Role of the USA in World Sport," 104–06. On the relationship between commercialism and sport more broadly, see Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[15] Allison, "The Curious Role of the USA in World Sport," 104–06. On the differences between baseball and football in more depth, see Stefan Szymanski and Andrew Zimbalist, *National Pastime: How Americans Play Baseball and the Rest of the World Plays Soccer* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

a commercial ethic – and a belief in its American uniqueness.[16] "Having traveled the world quite extensively over a period of many years, I know that every nationality is identified with its own brand of thinking," he once proclaimed. "In the United States, where our national games are football and baseball, the people who own franchises are unequivocally professional in everything they do, including attempts to make money. The same theory will be prevalent in a soccer league."[17] As history would prove, not all of his compatriots shared the sentiment.

"JUST PLAIN BILL"

In January 1929, William D. Cox left Yale. Only nineteen years of age and midway through his junior year, he followed in his father's footsteps and entered the brokerage industry. By October, he was working at a Wall Street firm. His timing was not ideal. The stock market crashed and the country teetered on the brink of depression. Yet within this "get-rich-never atmosphere," as *Sports Illustrated* put it, Cox thrived. Having heard that the rights to the *New York Sun* editorial "Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus" were available, he spent $1,000 on their acquisition. Soon thereafter, he persuaded an advertising firm to use the material in a radio promotion, which helped lead to a book release by publisher Grosset & Dunlap. At final counting, Cox had taken in $10,000.[18]

Cox expanded upon his Wall Street success by engaging in an array of business ventures. He spent part of the 1930s as an art dealer, specializing in the realist works of

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[16] Arthur Daley, "No Kick Coming," *New York Times*, May 30, 1961.
[17] William D. Cox to Helmut Käser, August 27, 1965, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[18] *History of the Class of 1930, Yale College* (New Haven: Class Secretaries Bureau, 1930), 181, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library (hereafter YL); Gwilym S. Brown, "What Will He Think of Next?," *Sports Illustrated*, May 4, 1970, 39.

Thomas Eakins and George Bellows, before devoting himself to the lumber industry. He also dabbled in the realm of politics, campaigning for free-enterpriser Thomas Dewey behind an ardent belief in "the right to proper rewards for hard work and initiative." Yet Cox, who participated in gridiron, crew, track and field, and baseball during his time at Yale, maintained a passion for sport. When the opportunity to purchase the New York Yankees of the American Football League arose in 1941, he did not pass it up. Sadly, the gridiron circuit folded soon thereafter, amid the country's growing involvement in the Second World War. Cox turned to baseball, a pastime both national and personal, as a result.[19]

In February 1943, Cox led an investment group that took over the struggling Philadelphia Phillies. National League president Ford Frick expressed confidence that the Yale man could help turn the franchise into a point of pride for the game and the city, yet urged patience among onlookers.[20] The challenge Cox faced was, without question, daunting. By the time that he took over full team operations in March, a dearth of players left him five short of the league limit. Indeed, Cox had to fill in at shortstop during spring training, completing a transformation from millionaire owner into, as the *New York Times* put it, "just plain Bill." The situation was such that one wire report predicted that the Phillies might "go down in history as the weakest major league club of modern times."[21]

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[19] *History of the Class of 1930, Yale College*, 181; *The Ten Year Book, 1930*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1940), 96, Manuscripts and Archives, YL; *The Twenty Year Book, 1930*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1950), 155–156, Manuscripts and Archives, YL; Daley, "No Kick Coming"; Brown, "What Will He Think of Next?," 39–40.

[20] "Lumber Broker Buys Phillies," *Austin (TX) American*, February 21, 1943.

[21] "Just Plain Bill," *New York Times*, March 19, 1943; "Phillies Doomed for Cellar Spot," *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 1943; Brown, "What Will He Think of Next?," 40.

Several months and roster changes later, Cox had his team on the ascent and the locals buzzing. Fans who once ended up in Shibe Park after getting lost on the way to the movies, mused one Yale writer, now filed back into the stadium with intent. Attendance doubled from the previous season and Cox was credited for his front-office savvy.[22] His success, however, soon started to unravel. Rumors swirled that Cox had gambled on games in which the Phillies played. This did not sit well with Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the Major League Baseball commissioner known for being a "crack-down czar." Following a three-month investigation into Cox's activities, Landis declared him "permanently ineligible" from the game. The Phillies boss maintained that he only made "some small and sentimental bets" before learning that it was against the rules, but Landis, in what journalist Charles Dunkley referred to as "the most drastic action of his twenty-two-year regime," did not feel inclined to grant a pardon.[23]

A dismayed Cox took to the radio waves to bid farewell to the sport he loved. "I want to say that I have met some of the grandest fellows in the world in the greatest game in the world," he offered with the savoir-faire of a seasoned public relations executive. "I have endeavored in every way to lead an exemplary life and conduct myself with a proper viewpoint to the great sport. Good luck and good-by to everyone in baseball."[24]

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[22] Eckley B. Coxe IV, "This Baseball," *Yale News Digest*, August 19, 1943; Brown, "What Will He Think of Next?," 40.

[23] Irving Vaughan, "Landis Bars William D. Cox from Baseball," *Chicago Tribune*, November 24, 1943; Charles Dunkley, "Cox, Phillies' Boss, Ousted by Landis," *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 1943; John Drebinger, "Ceased Betting on Phils, Says Cox, When He Learned It Violated Rule," *New York Times*, November 24, 1943; "Landis, a Crack-Down Czar, Ruling Game Firmly Since '21," *Washington Post*, November 24, 1943. Cox later backtracked, claiming to have confessed to the charges so as to "smoke out the person who had really done the betting." Brown, "What Will He Think of Next?," 40–41.

[24] Drebinger, "Ceased Betting on Phils, Says Cox, When He Learned It Violated Rule."

Following a brief return to gridiron in the mid-1940s, in which Cox lost $100,000 on the Brooklyn Dodgers of the All-America Football Conference, he stepped away from the realm of sport. He would not return for more than a decade.[25]

"DREAMING FANCY DREAMS"

In the summer of 1958, Cox traveled to Europe for the World Cup, then being played in Sweden. The continent was not terra incognita, as Cox had been involved in natural resource extraction in the Mediterranean following his previous departure from sport.[26] His current jaunt took him through London, Stockholm, and Paris, where he met with such prominent football men as FA secretary Stanley Rous. Cox hoped they could help answer a question that had lingered in his mind for some time: "How can America get into international soccer at the highest level?" The United States had long played host to foreign touring teams, but only in an exhibition format and with mixed results. Cox, by contrast, was "dreaming fancy dreams" of a competition with stature, one in which American sides could, as he put it, "engage successfully against the giants of the world." Yet for all of his qualities as "a glib and convincing talker with considerable personal charm," Cox could not inspire any ideas among those with whom he met. His overtures, in turn, were rebuffed.[27]

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[25] Brown, "What Will He Think of Next?," 41.

[26] Derek Liecty, "Who Is Bill Cox?," in *1961–62 U.S. Soccer Football Guide*, ed. Bill Graham (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1962), 42, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL; Brown, "What Will He Think of Next?," 41.

[27] Arthur Daley, "On a Grandiose Scale," *New York Times*, February 9, 1960; USSFA Minutes, June 25–26, 1960, pp. 32, 37, 39, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, pp. 42–43, LHOF. Cox became inspired after witnessing the crowds that turned up for a series of one-off friendlies at Ebbets Field and the Polo Grounds. "It was those games, those very games, that instilled within me and some few friends of mine the thought that if a barnstorming game could produce 15,000 or 20,000 in attendance, what could a bona fide

Never lacking in tenacity, Cox forged ahead. His previous forays into baseball and gridiron having ended ignominiously, the Yale man relished the prospects of an athletic renaissance. The magnitude of the tournament in Sweden was enough to rekindle his interest in football to the point where it would not dissipate. His timing, in his own mind, could not have been any better. Baseball's Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Giants had recently fled west, leaving a gap in the local sport market that football could duly fill. Cox returned to Europe to ratchet up support for his project, whereupon his efforts gradually came to fruition. "Something was formed," he recounted, "by way of a germ that had not in the annals of soccer been tried."[28]

As the seed took root in Europe, so, too, did it find fertile soil across the pond. Erno Schwarcz, a former Hungarian international and current business manager of the American Soccer League, reached out to the USSFA on Cox's behalf in 1958. Promising high-class players, much-needed publicity, and "large sums of moneys," Schwarcz quickly had the national federation's ear – and this despite a rule that forbade the "playing of any matches arranged by private individuals for speculative purposes."[29] Schwarcz's proposal for an international competition was considered at July's annual convention, at which Walter Giesler, speaking for the committee tasked with its review, provided a ringing endorsement:

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tournament provide," he recalled. Though Cox would not take concrete steps to establish a venture until the late fifties, he broached the topic of a football project to Stanley Rous in 1946.

[28] William R. Conklin, "New Soccer Loop Slates 30 Games," *New York Times*, January 17, 1960; USSFA Minutes, June 25–26, 1960, pp. 32, 39, LHOF; John Drebinger, "Played Strictly for Kicks," *New York Times*, August 2, 1962; USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, p. 42, LHOF; Georges Schwartz, "Soccer Still Waiting for Columbus," *FIFA News*, September 1973, 357.

[29] USSFA Minutes, July 26–27, 1958, p. 8, LHOF; United States Soccer Football Association, *Constitution and Rules of the USSFA* (New York: Graybar, 1958), 27, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 22, LL.

> Our thinking on this term is that this is quite an extensive and perhaps fantastic – I will not say "scheme" – plan, and it may come to something and certainly we do not feel we should keep in the way of these people right in the inception of the national commission. Any man that wants to come in and spend evidently thousands of dollars I think we should welcome under the supervision of the United States Soccer Football Association.[30]

Giesler's hesitancy to use the term "scheme," one laden with pejorative connotation, was reflective of the good faith America's "soccer men" had in the project. This was made more explicit in a letter to Stanley Rous, which assuaged any concerns he might have had. Indeed, it promised that the ASL, under whose aegis Cox's tournament would run, was a "reputable organization," while Schwarcz was a man with a long history in the game and, thus, "fully cognizant of the requirements for the operation of International football on a club basis."[31] The general sense of enthusiasm was such that the national federation agreed to reduce the ISL's dues on a temporary basis so as to help the league find its footing – though not before a vociferous debate.[32] Despite the positive outcome, newspaperman Milt Miller, sensing a crack in the façade, noted a "sprinkling of pessimism" about the endeavor.[33]

On October 28, 1959, plans for the venture were publicly announced in New York and London. Robert F. Wagner Jr., the mayor of the former, was buoyant in his remarks at City Hall. "I'm delighted about the new international professional soccer league," he noted, flanked by league representatives. "New York is a great sports town, and the games will be an important development in our national program to bring about better

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[30] USSFA Minutes, July 26–27, 1958, pp. 24–25, LHOF.
[31] USSFA Reports, 1959–60, pp. 15–16, LHOF.
[32] USSFA Minutes, August 28–30, 1959, pp. 26–31, 53–56, LHOF.
[33] Milt Miller, "Soccer Shots," *Long Island Star-Journal*, January 9, 1960.

understanding between the people of our land and those of foreign nations." Schwarcz, too, vowed big things ahead, given the success of touring teams in years past and the league's projected budget of a half-million dollars.[34]

Media members bought into the fanfare. Milt Miller suggested that the venture provided refreshing "imagination, drive, and courage," while Allison Danzig indicated that it "may be the greatest shot in the arm the game has known in this country." Perhaps no report was as cheery as that of the *New York Herald Tribune's* Stanley Woodward, though he reserved judgment until the ISL was well into its second season of play. "Conception of the idea for this league required just the kind of a leaping brain Cox has," wrote Woodward. "Carrying it out required enough nerve, which he also has, to go over Niagara Falls in a barrel."[35]

Featuring twelve teams from as many countries, including an American representation from New York, the competition kicked off on May 25, 1960, at the Polo Grounds. More than ten thousand spectators turned up to watch Scotland's Kilmarnock take on German side Bayern Munich on a perfect spring evening. Though the gate was less than anticipated, it was sufficient for the event's promoters to break even and, on account of the crowd's enthusiasm, give cause for optimism. "There was no doubt that the contest furnished a sharp contrast to the quality of games seen here in the past," wrote

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[34] Deane McGowen, "One Soccer Field for Ten Nations," *New York Times*, October 29, 1959. In later years, Cox struck a similarly universalistic tone as Wagner, calling the league "the greatest people-to-people sports program anywhere in the world." Connie Ryan, "15 Nations Are Set for Soccer Tourney," *Bridgeport (CT) Post*, January 8, 1961.

[35] Milt Miller, "Soccer Shots," *Long Island Star-Journal*, January 23, 1960; Allison Danzig, "Grandfather of All Football," *New York Times*, April 15, 1960; Stanley Woodward, "What's With This Football?," *Austin (TX) Statesman*, July 22, 1961.

Michael Strauss in a match report for the *New York Times*. "The fans were not content to sit on their hands. They cheered, they applauded, and they rooted."[36]

By tournament's end, the league's backers had cause for more hope still. The championship match of August 6 pitted the "flashy young men" of Brazilian side Bangu against the "superbly conditioned" Scotsmen. After a week of torrential rains, the weather cooperated and 25,440 turned up at the Polo Grounds to take in the contrast in playing styles. The proceedings did not disappoint. Bangu emerged victorious by two goals to nil in an energetic, well-contested affair that captivated from beginning to end. Inside left Valter Santos was in inspired form, netting on either side of halftime, and the Brazilians would have had more if not for the derring-do of goalkeeper Jimmy Brown. "The fans left with the realization," recounted journalist Gordon S. White Jr., "that they had seen what was probably the best match played in the United States in many a year."[37]

Though the venture paid few immediate financial dividends, it succeeded from the standpoint of publicity. Matches penetrated the "paper curtain" in a manner atypical of the non-pastime par excellence. Beat reporters, some of whom were football neophytes, lent much-needed regularity and depth to print coverage. The tournament's impact on the small screen was equally promising, Cox claiming that some ratings were akin to those of

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[36] Michael Strauss, "10,444 Fans See Scots Win, 3 to 1," *New York Times*, May 26, 1960.

[37] Frank M. Blunk, "Bangu Choice Over Kilmarnock in Soccer League Final Today," *New York Times*, August 6, 1960; Gordon S. White Jr., "Bangu Conquers Kilmarnock, 2–0, in Soccer," *New York Times*, August 7, 1960; "Kilmarnock Well Beaten in New York," *Glasgow Herald*, August 8, 1960; Bob Kelley, "International League," in *1960–61 U.S. Soccer Football Guide*, ed. Bill Graham (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1961), 45, 52, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL.

baseball's Yankees.[38] The league boss did not offer figures in this regard – at least when he brought the matter up at the national federation's annual convention – but *New York Times* staffer Jack Gould had seen enough to declare the game "made to order for TV." The lack of stoppages certainly provided appeal, but so, too, did the qualities of the participants. "The control of the ball, deception of opposing players, and artistry of movement border on the fabulous," wrote Gould. "For stamina, the soccer players make most athletes look like weaklings."[39]

Yet the publicity the ISL garnered was not always favorable. Press reports frequently cast light upon such unsavory incidents as pitch invasions and stadium violence.[40] Similarly perturbing for members of the national federation was that their work was altogether neglected. "I dislike and I resent the fact that in the reams and reams of publicity which this organization caused to be published, that at no time, with possibly one exception, was the USSFA mentioned," complained president Jack Flamhaft. "I think that in justice and fairness to this organization sometime or other we should have been given our proper recognition."[41]

If Flamhaft's grievance betrayed a hint of concern, it was rooted in part in Cox's machinations. Weeks before the ISL's inaugural season had come to a close, Cox sought

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[38] USSFA Minutes, June 25–26, 1960, pp. 6, 32, LHOF; Milt Miller, "Soccer Shots," *Long Island Star-Journal*, June 11, 1960; Jack Flamhaft, "Soccer, the Universal Sport," in *1960–61 U.S. Soccer Football Guide*, ed. Bill Graham (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1961), 6, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL; Kelley, "International League," 45; Daley, "No Kick Coming."
[39] Jack Gould, "Incredible Footwork," *New York Times*, June 6, 1960.
[40] See, for instance, Gordon S. White Jr., "Brazilians Beat Portuguese, 5–1," *New York Times*, July 17, 1960; Gordon S. White Jr., "Sampdoria Beats Norrkoeping, 6–4," *New York Times*, July 18, 1960; Gordon S. White Jr., "Italians Conquer Vienna Team, 3–2," *New York Times*, July 24, 1960.
[41] USSFA Minutes, June 25–26, 1960, p. 40, LHOF.

to break free from the ASL and earn direct affiliation, and concomitant voting rights, with the national body. "We feel that our stature – and we are perfectly willing to admit that we are young in stature – entitles [us] to separate representation," argued Cox at the USSFA's annual convention in Milwaukee. "We, at the moment, have completed, without one single blemish against us, the most important soccer tournament ever held in this country."[42] Members of the national body, however, were not amenable. In a lengthy soliloquy that drew applause from the convention floor, Joseph Triner of Illinois doused Cox's enthusiasm:

> We have a great deal at stake, Mr. Cox. I believe it is forty-seven years. For forty-seven years countless thousands of men, yes, and women have contributed to the success of the USSFA through the state associations and through the clubs – men who work without any money; women who give their all for the sake of a club. We have a great stake, Mr. Cox, in the invasion of our rights, in the invasion of our powers, in the invasion of everything that we possess. Therefore, I say to you, Mr. Cox, withdraw your request for direct affiliation; keep on doing the good work that you are doing; watch to see that no rules of the USSFA are violated – that no rules of FIFA are violated – and then come back with strength and position to us next year.[43]

As the confab moved from Wisconsin to Maryland, Cox would make himself scarce. Yet this would not prevent the status of the ISL from returning as a topic of fervent debate.

"CHURNING THE BOOTING WATERS"

In June 1961, America's "soccer men" descended upon Baltimore's Hotel Emerson for a meeting that left, to paraphrase writer Milt Miller, the booting waters churning.[44] The ISL was on the verge of completing the first half of its new season, one

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[42] Ibid., pp. 32–33.
[43] Ibid., p. 37.
[44] Milt Miller, "Soccer Shots," *Long Island Star-Journal*, August 10, 1961.

that had expanded into Canada and now featured fifteen teams from as many countries. The venture's inaugural campaign was successful enough to attract a spate of new clubs, affording Cox the luxury of scaling back his courtship efforts. Nonetheless, he celebrated the occasion as one in which entrants could "really see and know America," taking in Broadway shows, baseball games, and the like. He also recognized the value of fielding a competitive home team, revamping a lackluster New York eleven with, as he put it, "the cream of English League talent." As new turf was laid at the Polo Grounds, the venture seemed poised to gain traction.[45]

Less than a week into the new campaign, however, the ISL began to lose its footing. In a development that left league officials "mystified," FIFA branded the competition "illegal." Zurich failed to receive a copy of the tournament's rules and regulations and, thus, had never sanctioned the new season.[46] Though James McGuire played down the kerfuffle as "probably no more than a misunderstanding" – and, indeed, the umbrella body gave the green light once it received confirmation that the correct documents were on their way – Cox pointed the finger at the national federation. "I had every reason to believe that our USSFA had received the go-ahead for our games," he

[45] Ryan, "15 Nations Are Set for Soccer Tourney"; Robert L. Teague, "English Players Here for Soccer," *New York Times*, May 4, 1961; "Americans to Play Here Today in Opener of Soccer Twin Bill," *New York Times*, May 20, 1961; William J. Briordy, "Karlsruhe of Germany Faces Besiktas of Turkey in Soccer Opening Tonight," *New York Times*, May 17, 1961.

[46] "U.S. Soccer Loop Called 'Illegal,'" *New York Times*, May 22, 1961; "Officials Mystified," *Times of India*, May 23, 1961; "Rules Sent To FIFA," *Times of India*, May 24, 1961.

complained. "That was its job. And, since we are operating under the same rules used by us last year, I was sure everything was in order."[47]

More problematic for the venture's long-term future was a newly minted FIFA law that forbade private promoters from organizing tournaments along the lines of the ISL. The decision, which spoke to Zurich's suspicion of commercial interests, struck Flamhaft as a "veritable bombshell."[48] Though America's "soccer men" were not driven by money per se, they saw a business partnership as a potential boost to development. "If soccer is going any place in this country, we must have men with money who want to see the game progress to the point that it is, you might say, profitable," declared ASL representative Anthony Uhrik. McGuire concurred, adding that the game was in a "paradoxical stage" in which the national federation had to "build the roof as well as the cellar at the same time."[49]

Cox pledged to "contribute money, ideas, and personnel toward the development of improved amateur players."[50] Yet despite his subsequent involvement in clinics and youth work, members of the national federation began to doubt his sincerity.[51] Most vocal in this regard was Flamhaft, whose 1960–61 presidential report provided a scathing critique of the ISL and set the tone for the subsequent squabbling:

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[47] William J. Briordy, "Bangu, Karlsruhe Play Tonight in Polo Grounds Soccer Game," *New York Times*, May 24, 1961.
[48] USSFA Reports, 1960–61, pp. 2–3, LHOF.
[49] USSFA Minutes, August 28–30, 1959, pp. 27–28, LHOF.
[50] William R. Conklin, "International Soccer League Makes Offer to Help Amateurs," *New York Times*, January 13, 1961.
[51] "Soccer Clinics Set," *New York Times*, April 19, 1961; "Soccer Americans' Ball Boys Dreaming of Careers as Stars," *New York Times*, May 5, 1961; "Soccer Clinic Saturday," *New York Times*, May 11, 1961.

> From its inception, it has adopted a smug and condescending attitude towards the parent body. At the beginning, its friends attributed its action to lack of experience or knowledge of the workings of soccer. I never believed it, and time has proved me right. Its promoters entertain an overweening ambition and would, if they could, relegate the USSFA to a secondary role. It refuses to be bound by some decisions and mandates of the governing body. And so great is its contempt for the National body, that it has, on occasion, attempted to circumvent decisions by appealing to organizations outside the sphere of the USSFA in a wholly improper and unwarranted manner. This attitude of false superiority represents a lurking danger to the orderly governing of the game as we have known it in this country and throughout the world.[52]

Flamhaft's concerns were partly rooted in his experiences at a recent FIFA meeting in Rome, where he claimed an ISL representative "maligned the good name" of the national federation, dismissing it as "small potatoes" that contributed nothing to the game's development. Perhaps more significant, however, was a private agreement that the ASL and ISL reached at the end of 1960. In what Joseph Triner admonished as "flagrant defiance" of national protocol, the ASL consented to grant Cox the non-subsidiary status he so coveted and, furthermore, ceded its right to organize international matches in New York during the summer period. The latter, in Flamhaft's mind, constituted a clear attempt by Cox to monopolize the business of foreign tours – perhaps the only profitable endeavor in which the local circuits were involved. "I say to you, that in the wake of this league, you will find the ruination of other leagues," warned the then USSFA president. "It is an investment and they are in it to make a dollar. They are no more interested in this game as a sport than I am in Greek dancing or something of that nature."[53]

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[52] USSFA Reports, 1960–61, p. 2, LHOF.
[53] Ibid., pp. 17–19; USSFA Minutes, June 17–18, 1961, pp. 9–10, LHOF.

Flamhaft urged his colleagues to take heed of the experiences of other countries, where football had long flourished as "a sport first and foremost," a "community project" sans sinister commercial motives. Despite the ASL's insistence that it had acted with the general welfare of the game at heart, Flamhaft remained wary. Yet he also recognized the value of Cox's venture and the sentiment among colleagues that it should not be scrapped entirely. As a result, and in view of FIFA's ruling on the status of private promoters, Flamhaft recommended placing the ISL under the auspices of a special liaison committee until the national federation could lobby Zurich to modify its statutes.[54]

MR. COX GOES TO LONDON… AND DETROIT

As the game's global brass convened in London for the 1961 FIFA Extraordinary Congress in late September, an American delegation turned up in the English capital. Newly elected USSFA president J. Eugene Ringsdorf led a quartet that was scheduled to meet Helmut Käser, the umbrella body's general secretary, to ensure that the national body understood and complied with all rules and regulations. The American contingent, which also featured McGuire, Triner, and Cox, eyed an exemption so that subsidiaries could underwrite tournaments on behalf of cash-strapped national federations. FIFA gave the tournament the go-ahead provided that it meet certain conditions, but labeled Cox's New York eleven an illegal scratch team.[55]

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[54] USSFA Reports, 1960–61, pp. 2–3, 17–18, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, June 17–18, 1961, pp. 7–14, LHOF. The ASL's support on the matter was curious, as journalist Milt Miller did well to point out. "As the ISL star rises," he wrote with prescience, "it could eclipse the ASL which sponsored it." Milt Miller, "Soccer Shots," *Long Island Star-Journal*, January 7, 1961.

[55] USSFA Minutes, June 17–18, 1961, p. 7, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1961–62, pp. 1–2, 13–16, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, p. 11, LHOF. A scratch team consisted of players that belonged to other clubs.

As the contingent returned to the United States with issues afoot, Cox maintained a sanguine public face. He had good reason for this. The league was in the midst of moving its home base from the Polo Grounds to Downing Stadium on Randall's Island, a venue that featured ample space for parking and was poised for a seating expansion with new boxes.[56] "With 15,000,000 persons in the New York metropolitan area, we are not worried about competition from any other sport," announced Cox. "We expect our best season this year."[57]

At the same time that Cox heralded the New York location as a "permanent home for a permanent sport," he also set his sights elsewhere. Following its earlier spread into Canada, the league made plans to move into Mexico, Illinois, and Massachusetts. It also trumpeted a revamped pièce de résistance, which pitted the current and previous years' champions against one another in a marquee two-game series.[58] The *Chicago Tribune* welcomed the expansion efforts, deeming the competition "pretty good entertainment," and the choice of Soldier Field as an American Challenge Cup host. "Chicago's reputation as one of the world's sports centers will be further enhanced," it proclaimed, "when one of the year's most important professional soccer matches will be held."[59]

The 1962 season opened on May 20 with all the stature Cox had promised. Scottish champion Dundee and West Germany's Reutlingen kicked off a double-header

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[56] William R. Conklin, "Soccer Champions to Compete Here," *New York Times*, March 3, 1962; William J. Briordy, "Double-Header to Open Season for Soccer Clubs Here May 20," *New York Times*, April 22, 1962.

[57] "Palermo of Italy in Soccer League," *New York Times*, April 6, 1962.

[58] Conklin, "Soccer Champions to Compete Here"; Briordy, "Double-Header to Open Season for Soccer Clubs Here May 20."

[59] David Condon, "In the Wake of the News," *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1962; "International Soccer Game on Wednesday," *Chicago Tribune*, August 5, 1962.

at Downing Stadium before a crowd of nearly 17,500. Parks commissioner Newbold Morris led the opening-day ceremonies, complete with tulips imported from the Netherlands for the ladies in attendance. Yet not all was coming up posies. A venue that had been hailed for its ease of access proved difficult to reach due to traffic on the Triborough Bridge. A bright sun and temperatures of ninety degrees slowed the tempo of the proceedings.[60] And, perhaps most important, administrative issues continued to loom large.

At July's annual convention in Michigan, these came to the fore within the context of a review of the ISL's affiliation. James McGuire advocated that the league finally receive the membership status it had long sought. "It seems rather incongruous," read his report on behalf of the liaison committee, "that an organization of this size who are ready, willing, and able to stage professional soccer which will attract much publicity and respect from the News World of Sport in general should receive no recognition from the USSFA." The recommendation, however, found little backing. Giesler, hesitant to brand the venture a "scheme" just two years earlier, had by now turned on the matter. "I think that this thing is potentially dangerous," he warned. "We as the United States have a primary responsibility. We are growing Soccer in the United States. We are not promoters." New York representative William Kober echoed the thought, complaining

[60] "Big League Soccer Opens Here Today," *New York Times*, May 20, 1962; William J. Briordy, "Reutlingen and Palermo Win Soccer Openers Here," *New York Times*, May 21, 1962; "Dundee Beaten," *Glasgow Herald*, May 21, 1962.

that "you're not going to bring up your own American boys if you're going to keep importing foreign teams."[61]

The league, to be fair, had not neglected its developmental commitments entirely. It sponsored an outfit of New York schoolboys, presenting them at a luncheon before diplomats and press members. It hosted a six-team, five-state youth tournament, which, according to the *New York Times*, took the game "a step forward." And it scheduled junior matches as openers to ISL bills.[62] Yet the lack of an American entry in the ISL was a glaring reminder that the league was not meeting the expectations of the national body. The FIFA ruling on scratch teams had sparked hope that there would be a more concerted search for domestic talent.[63] When this did not materialize, it lent credence to the notion that the country was becoming, in Walter J. Giesler's words, "a glorified booking agency for foreign teams."[64]

Cox's position was, doubtless, a difficult one. He initially pledged to fill his New York roster with local products and complement them with a few "European stars."[65] The team's lackluster showing, however, prompted the Yale man to increase the number of foreign imports. High-caliber play was essential to maintaining public interest and, given that its backers had spent a considerable amount of money, it was only natural that they

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[61] USSFA Reports, 1961–62, p. 16, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, pp. 12, 17, LHOF.
[62] Michael Strauss, "20 Stars of Future Present at Kick-Off of Soccer League," *New York Times*, May 11, 1962; William J. Briordy, "Chicago Reaches Final in Soccer," *New York Times*, June 24, 1962; William J. Briordy, "Two Teams Share Crown in Soccer," *New York Times*, June 25, 1962; "Final Game Today in Soccer Series," *New York Times*, August 5, 1962; William J. Briordy, "Pluskal Scores Winning Marker," *New York Times*, August 13, 1962.
[63] Milt Miller, "ISL Gets Green Light under USSFA Supervision," newspaper clipping, November 1961, USA Correspondence, Box 1932–64, FIFADC.
[64] USSFA Minutes, July 11–12, 1964, p. 37, LHOF.
[65] "Cox Talks of Soccer On a Global Scale," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 29, 1959.

sought to protect their investment.[66] "Eventually, we may be able to develop a majority of homebreds," Cox assured the *New York Mirror*. "After all, soccer is growing fast in our school system at all levels."[67]

The justification did not appear to satisfy America's "soccer men," who had been initially told that the competition might feature as many as four American sides.[68] Sensing his hopes for affiliation dissipate over the course of a lengthy discussion at Detroit's Hotel Wolverine, Cox took the floor for a final plea. In a show of good faith, he pledged to help grow the game to the point where it rivaled baseball and gridiron, regardless of how members ultimately voted. He also, in an effort to make commercial interests more palatable, claimed that Zurich took no issue with the ISL turning a profit. Though his words drew the applause of convention-goers, when the matter of affiliation came to a roll call, a striking majority proved reluctant to offer support. Of the twenty-nine ballots cast, only the Michigan Soccer Commission backed Cox.[69]

By 1963, the public, too, was becoming a tougher sell. Attendance figures had been promising enough during the previous year to convince ISL organizers to tack on an additional twelve games to the schedule. Yet fans were beginning to stay away from the turnstiles, a reality illuminated by the freshly installed lighting system at Downing Stadium. The season's best turnout drew just over 15,000 for the American Challenge

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[66] USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, pp. 39, 43, LHOF.
[67] Frank Kearns, "Dukla Cup Favorite in Soccer," *New York Mirror*, August 12, 1962, USA Correspondence, Box 1932–64, FIFADC.
[68] USSFA Minutes, July 26–27, 1958, p. 8, LHOF.
[69] USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, pp. 17–19, LHOF.

Cup second leg in August, a modest figure compared to those of years past.[70] That the match was held at all was a minor triumph. A riot involving some two hundred spectators a week earlier, in which veteran referee James McLean was attacked following the disallowance of a goal for offside, prompted the local referees association to threaten a boycott for inadequate security.[71]

THE BOOTING WATERS FLOW

Tensions flared away from the pitch, too. The ISL's relationship to its fellow footballing bodies deteriorated into, as one report put it, "turbulence, animosity, and obvious distrust." Much of the infighting centered around contractual obligations and clashes of personality. The once-harmonious relationship between the ASL and ISL, in particular, fractured over match schedules and territorial rights. The issue of the profit motive persisted, too, as the national federation started to entertain the possibility of a full-fledged professional circuit – a vital element if the United States was to reach a world standard.[72] The viability of this type of venture rested upon a strong grassroots, as FIFA president Stanley Rous pointed out during his American travels.[73] Cox's motives, however, were not entirely altruistic:

> Sir Stanley, in America, if I am correct, people who invest in baseball franchises, football franchises, and now, in recent years, basketball, hockey, and others,

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[70] William J. Briordy, "Soccer Schedule Will Be Expanded," *New York Times*, April 17, 1963; "Soccer Twin Bill Is Listed Tonight," *New York Times*, June 5, 1963; William J. Briordy, "Winner Triumphs on Total Goals," *New York Times*, August 12, 1963.

[71] William J. Briordy, "Fans Riot as English Team Takes League Soccer Final at Downing Stadium," *New York Times*, August 5, 1963; Milt Miller, "West Ham Captures ISL Crown," *Long Island Star-Journal*, August 5, 1963; "Referees Plan Boycott of ISL Games Here," *New York Times*, August 12, 1963.

[72] USSFA Reports, 1962–63, pp. 1–2, 6–17, 27–28, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, pp. 7–20, 32–51, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1964–65, p. 3, LHOF.

[73] Referees Addresses, September 18–19, 1962, p. 2, LHOF.

> soccer being temporarily left behind, they don't make an investment in franchises with the hope of only going one way, in the red. They hope to build a franchise that is worth money. Professional football franchises, as we all know, started at zero, and today practically all of them are worth millions of dollars. That is an American tradition, Sir Stanley. At the amateur level in England it may be true that directors of clubs make a modest investment in their organizations for the love of the game, and in amateur track and field in this country we do the same thing, but in other sports that are professional we all know that the purchaser of a franchise is involved in the theory of profit.[74]

The words should not have struck anybody by surprise. From the ISL's inception, Cox was perfectly candid that his involvement in the game was not for the sake of charity. "We would be very poor businessmen if we did not conduct our affairs in a businesslike manner," he proclaimed at the 1960 USSFA convention. "We are not anxious to throw away a great deal of money on a sports venture (and it is a commercial venture) that will not pay." Members of the national federation did not seem to take issue at the time. As Illinois delegate Joseph Triner offered, "They have never been interested in soccer before – they are trying to exploit a sport financially and, of course, rightfully so." Added New York representative Harry Kraus, "If we are not big enough, then we must move over and let the other men do the job."[75] Now, however, Cox's tone proved more troubling.

In late 1963, the USSFA and the ISL attempted to resolve their issues in a new licensing agreement. The parties devised a schedule to accommodate the completion of the amateur leagues, whilst striking a balance between building from above and from

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[74] USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, pp. 42–43, LHOF.

[75] USSFA Minutes, June 25–26, 1960, pp. 36, 39, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, June 17–18, 1961, p. 13, LHOF. The press, too, lent support in this regard. Concluded one *Sports Illustrated* editorial, "This experiment in global unity was no bit of dreamy idealism on the part of well-intentioned do-gooders, but a solidly businesslike and sense-making piece of sports promotion, and as such we applaud it." "In Lieu of Giants," *Sports Illustrated*, June 6, 1960, 17.

below. Cox was to continue fostering high-class football with the goal of building support for a professional outlet, but with the proviso that he give special attention to "improving the understanding and training of American youth for this sport." Junior matches continued to run concurrent to the ISL season, with participants now vying for a trophy donated by New York governor Nelson A. Rockefeller.[76] What is more, an American entry returned to ISL play in 1965. Fielding representatives from the local German-American League alongside a pair of British imports, the New Yorkers surpassed expectations by reaching the tournament final behind the goalscoring exploits of Robert Howfield.[77] Yet the squad, a temporary arrangement for the competition, was hardly the year-round enterprise for which some had lobbied and, thus, did little to allay concerns about Cox's genuineness. Equally problematic, it violated the FIFA rule against scratch teams, Flamhaft calling it the "scratchiest" of them all.[78]

Upon tournament's end, Cox added the national federation to a lawsuit he had filed against the ASL in the state of New York, wherein he alleged that the circuit had scheduled matches in conflict with his program. The court did not agree and Cox lost his case, effectively ending the relationship with the USSFA.[79] Even McGuire, who

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[76] USSFA Reports, 1963–64, pp. 12–16, 24, 42, LHOF; William J. Briordy, "Hamburg Scores in Soccer, 4 to 1," *New York Times*, May 21, 1964; William J. Briordy, "Soccer League Will Open Here Today," *New York Times*, May 30, 1965.

[77] Briordy, "Soccer League Will Open Here Today"; Milt Miller, "New York Side Talk of ISL Play," *Long Island Star-Journal*, June 7, 1965; William J. Briordy, "New Yorkers Play Varese to Scoreless Soccer Tie and Win Section Title," *New York Times*, June 29, 1965; Milt Miller, "New Yorkers Cop First-Half Title," *Long Island Star-Journal*, June 29, 1965.

[78] USSFA Minutes, July 5–7, 1963, pp. 9–12, LHOF; Jack Flamhaft to Stanley Rous, May 12, 1965, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Stanley Rous to Jack Flamhaft, July 9, 1965, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.

[79] USSFA Reports, 1965–66, pp. 2, 6, 16, LHOF; Milt Miller, "Soccer Shots," *Long Island Star-Journal*, April 20, 1966.

frequently tried to keep the peace between all concerned, had grown convinced that Cox had "destroyed whatever confidence anyone may have had in him."[80] This did not stop Cox from continuing his pursuit of a professional league. Weary of domestic regulations, he petitioned FIFA to take his business outside the jurisdiction of the USSFA, citing "difference of thinking, acting, and association."[81] Flamhaft, who wrote Zurich to give the national federation's side of the story, ironically concurred on this point. In a five-page missive that laid out a litany of grievances, he circled one difference between Cox and the country's other football groups. "The choice," he summed up, "lies between a private promoter and speculator and the organizations which are integral parts of soccer life in this country."[82]

CONCLUSION

The tension between Old World norms and New World realities that characterized the brief existence of the ISL has been obscured by a historiography that focuses almost exclusively on the crass commercialism of the NASL. Indeed, the full-fledged professional circuit became synonymous with what journalist Geoffrey Green called "instant football," the idea that the game could be built from above through simple promotional savvy. The result, notes Green, was a venture "conducted like the marketing of some household commodity," a proverbial "get-rich-quick scheme" that stood little chance at overcoming the cultural entrenchment of the nation's sport hegemons.[83]

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[80] James P. McGuire to Stanley Rous, February 21, 1966, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[81] William D. Cox to Helmut Käser, August 27, 1965, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[82] Jack Flamhaft to Stanley Rous, May 12, 1965, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[83] Geoffrey Green, "End of Ill-Fated Love Affair," *Times* (London), November 4, 1968.

Even as the NASL showed a growing appreciation for grassroots development, it continued to run according to commercial criteria. "American soccer is organized the American way," observed Paul Gardner of the *Times* (London) nearly a decade into the league's existence. "Rich individuals, or groups, purchase from the NASL franchises allowing them to operate a team, unopposed, within a certain geographical area. Research studies will have shown that the area is a 'good market.' In other words, it has enough people and enough money to support a team and to attract television interest."[84] The most obvious example of the league's commercial ethos was the "razzmatazz" outlined at the beginning of this chapter. To British observers, accustomed to a presentation of sport built around tradition and identity, this would have looked altogether peculiar.[85] "It is thus with many American sports and pastimes," quips scholar Jack Morpurgo. "Finding them much worse than they really are, the American people make a number of efforts to turn them into something better than they can be and succeed only in making them not much more exciting for themselves and slightly ludicrous to the rest of the world. The trimmings become more important than the pastime itself."[86]

To members of the USSFA, at least, the pastime was not only important, but their very raison d'être. In aligning with business interests, they did so with the hope that they could forge a partnership of mutual benefit. As the ISL matured, however, America's "soccer men" struggled to negotiate the challenge of building the roof and the cellar simultaneously. The paucity of local players and teams provided a persistent source of

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[84] Paul Gardner, "Why American Soccer Is an Upper-Class Game," *Times* (London), January 10, 1976.
[85] Allison, "The Curious Role of the USA in World Sport," 106–07.
[86] Morpurgo, "The Americans at Play," pp. 7–8.

consternation, suggesting that the league was less concerned with growing the grassroots than lining its own pockets. Even McGuire, who supported Cox's venture until the eleventh hour, emphasized the need to "drape the stars and stripes around the game" in a report for the liaison committee.[87] The rhetoric bore the imprint of exceptionalism, but it was rooted in a more practical concern – the future of the game hinged upon a strong youth base. Cox, for his part, had his own set of worries. His league had spent considerable sums of money to pique public interest and, understandably, sought to recoup its investment. Foreign teams were a natural go-to given that they typically attracted better crowds. The result was considerable tension with the national body, made more acute by ambiguous contractual obligations and personal spats.

In an engaging essay on American athletic exceptionalism, Lincoln Allison suggests that "a simple account of American sport as capitalist sport would be quite wrong." In lending support to this argument, Allison cites the staunch advocacy of amateur principles by such prominent establishment figures as Grantland Rice and Avery Brundage.[88] The support for traditional values by members of the USSFA was, in some sense, less pronounced. The simple fact that they continued to sanction Cox's venture, in spite of the discomfort they felt toward private promoters, reveals a willingness to put practical realities ahead of sporting ideals. Yet this did not make their ideals any less real.

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[87] USSFA Reports, 1962–63, p. 28, LHOF.

[88] Allison, "The Curious Role of the USA in World Sport," 104–06. For a closer look at Brundage's beliefs about sport, see Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984). On Brundage's ideas within the context of the issue of doping, see Thomas M. Hunt, "American Sport Policy and the Cultural Cold War: The Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Years," *Journal of Sport History* 33, no. 3 (2006): 273–97; Thomas M. Hunt, *Drug Games: The International Olympic Committee and the Politics of Doping, 1960–2008* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

Like their British colleagues, America's "soccer men" could never fully reconcile a relationship with those who were, as Anthony Uhrik put it, "a little different from the normal soccer people."[89]

[89] USSFA Minutes, August 28–30, 1959, p. 28, LHOF.

Chapter Three: Offside or Level? "Americanizing" the Laws of the Game

July 1950

"Attempts to 'Americanize' soccer and develop some peculiar form of the game to satisfy the whims of coaches and other individual 'do-goods,' if unrestrained, will result in a bastard type of sport which will put this country beyond the pale of international soccer." The words were not those of the sport's tradition-laden overseers, although many would have agreed with the sentiment. Rather, they belonged to the USSFA rules and revisions committee, whose members were distressed at the "tendency in some quarters to adopt modifications to the Laws of the Game." Such was the group's unease, in fact, that it urged its colleagues to "intimate to soccer coaches, managers, and club officials that their primary duty is to develop their players and fit them for competition under existing international rules."[1] To what extent the pointed prose was spurred by a sense of foreboding is unclear. Regardless, the ensuing years would see no shortage of efforts to alter football's laws, often by businessmen keen to sell the game to domestic audiences.

If some American administrators pushed for (r)evolution, they were hardly alone. As football entered an era of tactical caution – a "journey from daring to fear," in the words of writer Eduardo Galeano – others embraced a similar desire for change.[2] Beginning in the mid-1960s, a number of experimental matches were sanctioned by the

[1] USSFA Reports, 1949–50, p. 18, LHOF. The concern was practical as much as it was ideological, as non-conformity with FIFA standards rendered American sides poorly equipped for international competition.
[2] Eduardo Galeano, *Soccer in Sun and Shadow*, trans. Mark Fried (New York: Nation Books, 2013), 12.

game's global leaders, who sought to restore football's aesthetic appeal to keep fans in the stadia. Although previous research has done well to consider the "Americanization" of football's laws as a partial response to the game's drift toward cynicism, there has been little comparative analysis with regard to the reform efforts taking place elsewhere.[3] What has resulted is a portrait that emphasizes national difference and paints U.S. officials, particularly those of the North American Soccer League, as an audacious lot with little respect for football's history. As David Wangerin notes, "International commitments seemed to matter little to a league stubbornly ploughing its own furrow, often against all convention."[4]

This chapter argues that American reform efforts were more conventional than appreciated. Though, to be sure, certain proposals were seen as an affront to footballing norms – perhaps none more so than calls to widen the goal – others were consistent with the thoughts and thought processes taking shape elsewhere. This was best evidenced in the reaction to the offside law. Last amended in 1925, the rule had become, as one Scottish observer put it, powerless against the "highly tactical" modern game.[5] Not surprisingly, it sparked avid discussion on both sides of the Atlantic and led to a series of trial matches in which several iterations were tested.

In recognition of this fact, the following analysis uses the offside rule as a lens through which to elucidate the global dimensions of reform between 1965 and 1974. In

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[3] See, for instance, Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 121–216.
[4] Ibid., 153.
[5] Duncan Carmichael, letter to the editor, *Glasgow Herald*, June 7, 1973. The commentator took issue with the "offside trap," a tactic in which defenders would surge forward in an attempt to draw opponents into an illegal position.

so doing, it shows that, much as the early development of handling football codes emerged from a vibrant transnational discussion, so, too, was the kicking game shaped by the flow of ideas across time and space.[6] It concludes by theorizing why a period of broad-based change has left a legacy of "Americanization," placing particular focus on the increasingly bold demands of NASL commissioner Phil Woosnam. Before one can understand the efforts of reformers like Woosnam, however, one must first turn attention to the circumstances that inspired their work – and the concept of rule(s).

RULES: A (BRIEF) PRIMER

"Rules matter." The statement strikes one as axiomatic, but, as historian Wray Vamplew notes, they matter for reasons beyond the regulation of the individual athletic contest. Often, they shape a sport's diffusion – hence the influx of regulatory bodies in conjunction with the internationalization of sport. They also might provide insight into a society's cultural mores.[7] The virile contact permitted – even encouraged – by gridiron can be read as a symbol for territorial ambition or beliefs about masculine virtue.[8] The "fixity of position" of baseball, as evidenced in the assignment of players to clearly defined spaces on the diamond and in the outfield, might be understood to reflect a belief in individual rights.[9]

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[6] Tony Collins, "Unexceptional Exceptionalism: The Origins of American Football in a Transnational Context," *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (2013): 209–30.

[7] Wray Vamplew, "Playing with the Rules: Influences on the Development of Regulation in Sport," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 7 (2007): 843–71.

[8] Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*, 117–136; Ivan Waddington and Martin Roderick, "American Exceptionalism: Soccer and American Football," *Sports Historian* 16, no. 1 (1996): 39–40.

[9] Ronald Story, "The Country of the Young: The Meaning of Baseball in Early American Culture," in *Sport in America: From Wicked Amusement to National Obsession*, ed. David K. Wiggins (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1995), 130–131.

Though sport has been a rule-bound practice since antiquity, modern regulations are distinct in myriad ways. As Allan Guttman notes in his classic *From Ritual to Record*, they tend to be informed by a means-end logic that is not beholden to the "inertia of convention." They are also embedded into a regulatory bureaucracy comprised of national and international layers.[10] Yet regulators hardly enjoy the luxury to set their own rules unopposed. They must take into consideration a number of external interest groups, including commercial sponsors and media rights holders. Hence, the athletic contest is often shaped to fit the contours of the televisual experience.[11] Football's American backers and bankrollers, deeming the small screen pivotal to the sport's growth, sought to adapt it accordingly. Their overseas counterparts, too, had reason to want change.

AN AGE OF CYNICISM

"Once upon a time football had one handling full back and virtually ten forwards," noted Geoffrey Green. "Now, in a sense, it is ten full backs and one forward."[12] The reporter was writing in 1974, but his concerns about the growing proclivity for defensive play had been voiced for well over a decade. As early as the 1962 World Cup in Chile, the sport's administrators lamented the drift toward "safety first" tactics and a willingness to stop opponents whatever the cost. Stanley Rous, sounding ever the man schooled in the British tradition of fair play, lamented the "gamesmanship" and "tricks of the trade" that ran afoul in modern football. His good friend James

[10] Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*, 40–47.
[11] Vamplew, "Playing with the Rules," 859–60.
[12] Geoffrey Green, "Soccer Needs a Pied Piper to Draw Fans back to the Terraces," *Times* (London), February 23, 1974.

McGuire echoed the sentiment. "The game has changed, unfortunately, to a negative style of playing," he opined. "The pattern of football was not how to score goals but how to be not scored on. It was defensive rather than attacking football, and when we take the attack away from the game, we take the spice, we take the virility of the game."[13]

By England '66, the game's devolution was in plain sight. As the players of England and Uruguay trudged off the Wembley Stadium pitch following a goalless draw in the tournament's opening match, the *Times* (London) lambasted an affair that was, for all its tactical intrigue, "soporific and boring." What was meant to be a celebration of football was anything but:

> The flags unfurled, the march-past over, the ceremonial speech by the Queen completed, it became more and more ominously clear within the first quarter of an hour that England were about to spend the clear summer's night bashing their heads against a powerfully knit, cleverly organized Uruguayan defensive wall – an Uruguayan side that one second could muster eight or nine men inside their penalty area and the next break out into counterattack like some expanding concertina.[14]

The event was a prelude of what would follow in the tournament – and beyond. England's quarterfinal match against Argentina in just under a fortnight was dubbed a "farce," sullied by "the travesty of pushing, jostling, chopping, holding, and tripping."[15] FIFA, for its part, proved well attuned to the state of play. Its post-tournament debrief noted with remarkable bluntness that cautious tactics and petty fouling had resulted in "many dull matches," while skill was overshadowed by an emphasis on physical

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[13] Referees Addresses, September 18–19, 1962, pp. 2–3, 6, LHOF.
[14] "England Frustrated by Contracting Defence," *Times* (London), July 12, 1966.
[15] "Travesty of Football at Wembley," *Times* (London), July 25, 1966.

conditioning.[16] Despite a temporary respite at Mexico '70, where the cheerful artistry of Brazil rekindled hopes that football was poised to break free from the dourness, the game quickly reverted to its previous guise.[17] Green, writing with characteristic hyperbole, directed his ire at the tactical rigidity of the day, which stultified individualism in favor of robotic efficiency and "slavery to the system."[18] Even Brazil got onto the conservative bandwagon. The *futebol arte* of yore gave way to a more methodical approach, prompting Pelé to lament, "We have suddenly become too defence minded."[19]

The culprit, in the opinion of many observers, was a sport-entertainment complex that rendered winning ever more profitable and losing ever less affordable. As one piece in *FIFA News* sulked, "The prestige, popularity, and financial gain so often linked with victory have taken on such importance that in the eyes of some people from now on anything is allowed provided one wins."[20] If the end proved tempting to players and managers, the means used to achieve it offered less allure to onlookers. Several voiced

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[16] Fédération Internationale de Football Association, *Technical Study of the 1966 World Cup* (Zurich: 1966), 5–6, 21–24, FIFADC.

[17] Fédération Internationale de Football Association, *Technical Study of the 1970 World Cup* (Zurich: 1970), 20–26, FIFADC; Stanley Rous, "Some Reflections on Mexico 1970," *FIFA News*, July 1970, 232–251; Dettmar Cramer, "Modern Football at a Glance: Goalgetters," *FIFA News*, February 1971, 74–75.

[18] Geoffrey Green, "Dangerous Boring Play Result of Slavery to 'the System,'" *Times* (London), May 29, 1972. Green's words came against the backdrop of a match between England and Scotland at Hampden Park, one he characterized as a "show of thuggery" in which spectators were subjected to "some crude form of football karate in which the ball became secondary."

[19] Geoffrey Green, "West German Continuity Worth More than Brazilian Money," *Times* (London), July 9, 1974. This is not to neglect the most notorious form of tactical caution, *catenaccio*. Popularized in Milan by Helenio Herrera's Internazionale, the system featured a back four with a *libero* lending additional cover. For tactics expert Jonathan Wilson, the approach "summons up Italian soccer at its most paranoid, negative, and brutal." Jonathan Wilson, *Inverting The Pyramid: The History of Soccer Tactics* (London: Orion, 2009), 168–94, quote 168.

[20] "Fair Play Trophies to the Japanese National Football Team," *FIFA News*, May 1969, 117. See, too, Geoffrey Green, "FIFA Must Guide World Club Cup," *Times* (London), November 6, 1967; José Maria Codesal, "Debasing Football," *FIFA News*, March 1968, 51; Stanley Rous, "Referees and Trends in Modern Soccer," *FIFA News*, February 1970, 37–43; Allen Wade, "Reflections on the Future of Football," *FIFA News*, October 1973, 397–99; Green, "Soccer Needs a Pied Piper to Draw Fans back to the Terraces."

their displeasure at the lack of attacking verve on offer. "The public visiting stadia all over the world to watch the top matches do so in the certainty that they will see players who dominate the ball and teams which add lustre to the game, and not boxing or wrestling matches," warned journalist Juan Carlos La Terza. "If they find the latter, these spectators will drift away from the stadia."[21] In some parts of the globe, attendance was already in stark decline. The situation in Europe was perilous enough by the start of 1971 that the continental body, the Union des Associations Européennes de Football, commissioned a survey on the flight from the terraces.[22] Ferruccio Berbenni, canvassing the "systematic sabotage" of the Italian game for the bi-weekly *France-Football*, had already drawn his own conclusion. "Apparently Italian fans are deserting the stadia," he noted. "Why? Above all, because the show is disappointing."[23]

GLOBAL CRISIS, GLOBAL RESPONSE

Within this context, football's global brass contemplated a response. Authority for the game's laws had long been vested in the International Football Association Board (IFAB), a notoriously traditional body founded by the four "home nations" of the United Kingdom in 1886. Following a determined effort to gain admittance into the IFAB bureaucracy in the early 1910s, FIFA was approved as a Board member in 1913. This did not provide the umbrella body the instant influence for which it might have hoped.

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[21] Juan Carlos La Terza, "The Preliminary Rounds of the World Cup in South America – Group 2," *FIFA News*, October 1973, 404. See, too, Juan Carlos La Terza, "South American Football, the 'Copa Libertadores' and Its Financial and Sporting Downfall," *FIFA News*, August 1973, 298.
[22] "Spectator Survey," *FIFA News*, February 1971, 87; "European Champion Clubs' Cup," *FIFA News*, June–July 1974, 325–26.
[23] Ferruccio Berbenni, "The Result That Italian Fans Wish Never to See Again," *FIFA News*, March 1972, 101–04.

Indeed, it held only two of the Board's ten votes, which, coupled with the four-fifths majority required to amend the Laws of the Game, made it difficult to influence change.[24]

This was made all the more difficult by FIFA's tenuous relationship to members of the "home nations." The latter held fast to the belief that their footballing histories afforded them a position of eminence. As one letter to FIFA stated with assuredness, "The great majority of the Associations affiliated with La Fédération Internationale de Football Association are of comparatively recent formation, and as a consequence cannot have the knowledge which only experience can bring." The British federations twice withdrew from the umbrella body during the 1920s, first on account of a dispute over wartime enemies, then over the issue of amateurism.[25] Interestingly, the rift over amateurism did not compromise the umbrella body's representation on the IFAB. As Peter Beck has done well to show, until the British reentry to FIFA in 1946, the Board provided a vehicle through which the "home nations" and the continent could connect.[26] Nonetheless, Zurich would have to wait until 1958 to assume a position of prominence within the rule-making apparatus, when the Board revised its voting structure to grant

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[24] Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the International Football Association Board (hereafter IFAB Minutes), June 10, 1911, p. 2, Soccer South Bay Referee Association Digital Collection (hereafter SSBRA); IFAB Minutes, June 8, 1912, p. 2, SSBRA; Minutes of the Adjourned Special Meeting of the International Football Association Board, April 4, 1913, pp. 1–2, SSBRA. On earlier attempts to codify the game within England, see Murray, *The World's Game*, 1–7; Adrian Harvey, "'An Epoch in the Annals of National Sport': Football in Sheffield and the Creation of Modern Soccer and Rugby," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 4 (2001): 53–87.

[25] H.F. Moorhouse, "One State, Several Countries: Soccer and Nationality in a 'United' Kingdom," in *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport*, ed. J.A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 67–70, quote 69. See, too, Beck, "Going to War, Peaceful Co-existence or Virtual Membership?"

[26] Beck, "Going to War, Peaceful Co-existence or Virtual Membership?" Amid the earlier dispute over the status of wartime enemies, FIFA was ousted from the Board between the years 1920 and 1924. Moorhouse, "One State, Several Countries," 67–68.

FIFA half the ballots. Furthermore, it was stipulated that no business could be conducted at meetings without the presence of Zurich.[27]

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the laws were resigned to a condition of near stasis. The offside rule was amended to open up the game in 1925 and the laws were redrafted in toto thirteen years later, but the relevant authorities, seeing themselves as football's "guardians," reveled in their conservatism.[28] For example, in his opening remarks at the 1954 IFAB meeting in Bern, FIFA vice president Rodolphe Seeldrayers made special reference to "the responsibility vested in the Board to alter the Laws as infrequently as possible so that the game remains the same all over the world."[29] When the umbrella body's delegates convened at the city's historic Rathaus for their annual congress just days later, president Jules Rimet echoed the sentiment.[30]

As the age of cynicism dawned, the Board's traditionalism gave way to greater openness to change. Stanley Rous oscillated between the two poles in a manner befitting a man described by Alan Tomlinson as "a bundle of contradictions."[31] The FIFA boss bemoaned the use of "gimmicks" and concluded that reform must occur gradually – a belief rooted as much in practical concerns as in any illusion about the rightness of the status quo.[32] Indeed, the estimated four-year lag between the passage of a law and its

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[27] IFAB Minutes, June 7, 1958, pp. 2–3, SSBRA.
[28] "The Laws: From 1863 to the Present Day," *FIFA*, http://www.fifa.com/classicfootball/history/the-laws/from-1863-to-present.html.
[29] IFAB Minutes, June 19, 1954, p. 2, SSBRA.
[30] USSFA Minutes, July 10–11, 1954, p. 30, LHOF.
[31] Tomlinson, "FIFA and the Men Who Made It," 59–60.
[32] Stanley Rous to Dick Walsh, July 2, 1968, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Rous, "Referees and Trends in Modern Soccer."

universal implementation rendered frequent tinkering impractical.[33] Yet if Rous balked at some demands for change, he also urged his colleagues to take heed of modern trends and new ideas.[34]

A key area at issue was the drift away from fair play. At a meeting along Croatia's Adriatic coast, in between a reception hosted by the local mayor and an excursion to the small island of Lopud, members of the Board drafted a press release about the game being brought into disrepute:

> The International Football Association Board at its Meeting in Dubrovnik expressed its concern at the disorder and violence which have crept into the Game, and particularly into competitive football during recent years. The Board requests National Associations throughout the World to do everything in their power to improve their position to rid the Game of abuses by exercising full control over players, trainers, managers, referees and other officials. If such firm control is not exercised there is real danger that Association Football will cease to be a game to be played and to be watched with pleasure.[35]

They also turned their attention to the game's defensive orientation, sanctioning a series of experimental matches played under amended laws. Two years before American businessmen did the same, the game's global brass turned their attention to the offside rule – and to the Scottish capital of Edinburgh.

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[33] "Questions by the Press and Answers by Sir Stanley Rous," *FIFA News*, April 1969, 88; Stanley Rous, "On the Decade of the '70s," in *1970 Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Bill Graham (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1970), 24–25, Garcia Collection, Box 3, Folder 23, LL; "Editorial," *FIFA News*, June 1971, 243–244.

[34] IFAB Minutes, June 19, 1971, p. 19, SSBRA; Stanley Rous, "Corrections Not to the Laws but to Their Interpretation," *FIFA News*, February 1972, 53–57.

[35] Programme of the Annual General Meeting of the International Football Association Board (hereafter IFAB Programme), June 14–17, 1968, SSBRA; IFAB Minutes, June 15, 1968, p. 7, SSBRA.

"FUN AND GAMES" AT TYNECASTLE

The scene was Tynecastle Park, the day one of brilliant June sunshine. Before an attentive group of FIFA executives and an intimate crowd, Heart of Midlothian hosted Kilmarnock in an experimental match sanctioned by the International Football Association Board. Administrators decided that for the first half of play, offside was to be abolished completely; in the second, it would be restricted to an eighteen-yard zone at each end of the pitch. Few knew what to expect and, moments into the affair, the match produced its first talking point. "Fun and games inside 30 seconds," recounted journalist Gair Henderson:

> When a long ball came straight through the middle to [Donald] Ford the Kilmarnock centre half, Frank Beattie, threw up his hands, turned to the ref, Hugh Phillips, and made a confident "offside" appeal. In the same moment Frank remembered there was no offside in operation and clapped his hands over his head before pursuing and catching the Hearts centre forward.

The visitors adjusted soon thereafter, but could not cope with a Hearts side full of attacking brio. Tommy Walker's men strolled to an 8–2 romp, Ford netting five times in the process.[36]

Though the result was surely enough to delight the home support, it offered fewer indications about the merits of offside. Less than twenty-four hours returned from a European tour, Hearts adopted a conventional style of play from which one could draw few conclusions. This did not prevent one writer from declaring that the first-half experiment was ill advised, as the sides vacated midfield in favor of crowding the two penalty areas. What resulted was forty-five minutes absent "studied build-up."

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[36] Gair Henderson, "Hearts Did Not Need Offside Help," *Evening Times*, June 19, 1965; "Proposals to Alter the Laws of the Game," *FIFA News*, February 1965, 1.

Fortunately, the proceedings improved after the interval. Offside restored – albeit in a limited fashion – the teams emerged from their defensive shells, producing fluid combination play and a combined eight goals. The second-half experiment went well enough for the two managers to entertain the notion that the eighteen-yard rule might offer an improvement. The IFAB concurred, deeming the event a valuable learning experience and pledging future experimentation.[37]

By the following evening, the relevant authorities made good on their promise. W.P. Allan, secretary of the Scottish Football Association, announced that the Glasgow Charity Cup would adopt the second-half amendment later that summer.[38] Though that occasion proved less than convincing – journalist Raymond Jacobs went so far as to suggest that it "contributed nothing" – and the law was left as written, the umbrella body did not close the door on continued experimentation.[39] It circulated a letter to national associations stressing that "other trial matches should be played and supervised, not only in Great Britain but elsewhere."[40] For America's "soccer men," patiently awaiting the arrival of their much-discussed professional league, the implications were most interesting.

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[37] "Value of Offside Clearly Shown," *Times* (London), June 21, 1965. Though he recognized that one trial match was insufficient to draw a firm conclusion, Gair Henderson took a skeptical tone: "The general impression of both experiments was that they were no improvement on the rule as it stands to-day." Henderson, "Hearts Did Not Need Offside Help." For additional insights and opinions, see "Glasgow to Have Game Under Trial Offside Rule," *Glasgow Herald*, June 21, 1965; Andrew Hoggan, "Two Months Too Late," *The Hearts Supporter*, 1987–88, Heart of Midlothian Football Club Archives.

[38] "Glasgow to Have Game Under Trial Offside Rule."

[39] Raymond Jacobs, "Glasgow Select Well Beaten," *Glasgow Herald*, August 12, 1965; "FIFA Proposals to the International Football Association Board," *FIFA News*, February 1966, 2.

[40] "Off-Side Law – Trial Match of 19th June, 1965 in Edinburgh," *FIFA News*, July 1965, 2–3; Helmut Käser to National Associations, June 22, 1965, Circular Letters, FIFADC.

THE AMERICAN RESPONSE

"Soccer discovered America in 1967," declared John Smith in a piece for the Associated Press. "Sports historians may choose to put it the other way and rule that America discovered soccer. Either way it will go down as a notable achievement."[41] It was also a rather curious one. Observed journalist Paul Gardner, "It is a colossal irony that when, at long last, wealthy men have launched the game on a nationwide scale, it should be at a time when it is obsessed by defense, by safety first."[42] As if to take the irony to the fullest extreme, not one, but two, professional leagues came to fruition that spring.

Though the game's defensive drift posed an issue for football's marketability, other conditions were more favorable. A booming economy and the emergence of a "leisure ethic" boded well, in theory, for a professional venture.[43] So, too, did the encouragement the national federation received from Zurich.[44] After an arduous bidding process for licensing rights, the United Soccer Association (USA), the product of an investment group led by Jack Kent Cooke, won exclusive USSFA affiliation. Frank E. Woods, president of the national federation, heralded the moment as historic, one that "will usher in a new era in which soccer at long last will emerge as a major sport in

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[41] John Smith, "Soccer Discovers America in '67," *Lawrence (KS) Daily Journal-World*, May 10, 1967.
[42] Brian Glanville, "A Soccer Revolution?," *New York Times*, July 23, 1967.
[43] Phyllis Marie Goudy Myers, "The Formation of Organizations: A Case Study of the North American Soccer League" (PhD diss., Purdue University, 1984).
[44] Referees Addresses, September 18–19, 1962, pp. 1–2, LHOF; USSFA Reports 1962–63, pp. 20–22, LHOF.

America."[45] As Cooke's group enjoyed its moment in the limelight, the two groups it defeated merged and set up the "outlaw" National Professional Soccer League (NPSL). Both circuits promised a bright future, though the NPSL, enjoying the carte blanche that came with its unsanctioned status, entered the fray full of marketing bluster. "As soon as we get some stature, we will become phenomenal," vowed New York Generals president John Pinto. A media mogul-turned-sport administrator, Pinto relished the prospects of future television revenue that, as he put it, "defies the imagination." Tellingly, he outfitted his team in the green-and-gold of Vince Lombardi's Packers in part because he felt they worked for the small screen.[46]

The NPSL's drawing power was, of course, contingent upon far more than its fashion choices. Accordingly, its administrators turned their attention to the Laws of the Game. "Americans," noted Pinto, using what would become an oft-repeated mantra, "don't like a defensive game."[47] Sadly, the league's teams were comprised of second- and third-rate players, whose skills were such that managers felt compelled to adopt conservative tactics. Eight matches into the campaign, commissioner Ken Macker developed a plan to bring football into closer alignment with American idiosyncrasies and tastes. Among the four proposals he floated was the elimination of offside.[48] Cognizant of the fact that footballing purists would take issue with his vision, Macker

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[45] USSFA Reports, 1966–67, p. 24, LHOF. For an excellent overview of football's professionalization in the United States and the resultant turmoil of competing leagues, see Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 121–50.

[46] "Pinto: New Salesman for Soccer," *New York Times*, March 5, 1967.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Murray Olderman, "Commissioner Is Learning His Game," *Ames (IA) Daily Tribune*, June 7, 1967; Glanville, "A Soccer Revolution?"

hedged to an extent, noting that "we would have to have a great deal more experience under our belts to change 400 years of history." Yet he also stressed the need to take into account market realities. "There shouldn't be an attitude that nothing should be changed," he continued. "Certain aspects of the game ought to be experimented with, if for no other reason than to satisfy the fans."[49]

If the rhetoric was natural for a group of businessmen who had few if any reservations about the profit motive, their rivals in the USA expressed similar sentiment. Parroting the line of the "outlaws" almost verbatim, Washington Whips general manager Jerry Cooper proclaimed, "No American is happy with a 0–0 result." Commissioner Dick Walsh, as unversed in the contours of the game as his NPSL counterpart, proposed instituting a golden-goal, extra-time period to eliminate draws.[50] Ironically, the freedom to tinker was encouraged by the terms of the deal to which the national federation had agreed. Section 2.5 of the league contract, which dealt with football's laws, read:

> All League Games, Tour Games and International Club Games shall be played under rules not inconsistent with those of the Association, except that the League may make such modifications of or additions to those rules as may, in its judgment, be desirable to conform to playing conditions, spectator tastes and the preferences of communications media in the United States and Canada.[51]

USSFA administrators tried to allay concerns that the clause might invite evasion of international protocol, suggesting that it was merely put in place to allow for television

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[49] Andrew Beyer, "Soccer Promoters Singing New Tune," *Washington Post*, August 30, 1967. See, too, his comments to the Associated Press: "I do not want to destroy any of the traditions of soccer, but I do want to make it as attractive as possible to the American fan." Ted Smits, "Americanization of Soccer Begins," *Dixon (IL) Evening Telegraph*, May 4, 1967.

[50] Glanville, "A Soccer Revolution?"; Beyer, "Soccer Promoters Singing New Tune." Macker was reported to have never watched a match prior to the 1966 World Cup. Olderman, "Commissioner Is Learning His Game."

[51] USSFA Reports, 1966–67, p. 13, LHOF.

timeouts.[52] Yet as the league encountered difficulty attaining the success it had envisioned, the laws came under closer scrutiny. The most strident voice to this end was not that of an American, but rather a Welshman with an American dream.

"A MOST PERSISTENT GENTLEMAN"

"By 1985, 90 percent of the world's best players will be playing in the United States," predicted Phil Woosnam. "I am totally confident that soccer will be the biggest sport in this country and that the United States will be the world center of soccer." [53] The words were vintage Woosnam – energetic, optimistic, measured.[54] They were also chock-full of ambition, a trait the émigré had showed since his arrival to American shores from English side Aston Villa in 1966. Within two years in his new post as coach of the Atlanta Chiefs, Woosnam – who was introduced to American audiences as a seasoned figure rather than a proverbial superstar, a Bobby Richardson rather than a Mickey Mantle – had built his franchise into a beacon of stability. The USA and the NPSL had since come together to form the National American Soccer League and Atlanta, steered by Woosnam's deft touch, won the inaugural championship in 1968. The league's leaders took notice and chose the Welshman to fill the NASL's newly created executive directorship the following year.[55]

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[52] Minutes of the Special Meeting of the United States Soccer Football Association, November 19, 1966, pp. 33–34, LHOF.

[53] Gardner, "Why American Soccer Is an Upper-Class Game"; Alex Yannis, "Woosnam Foresees Bigger Big Time," *New York Times*, May 22, 1977.

[54] Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 141.

[55] Joseph Lelyveld, "Soccer Ace Hired to Coach Atlanta," *New York Times*, September 9, 1966; Kenneth Denlinger, "Woosnam Pursues a Dream," *Washington Post*, June 9, 1968; Gib Twyman, "Soccer Loop Revives," *Kansas City Times*, January 8, 1969.

Discussions over reform had not faded during this period. In the 1968 season, the New York Generals petitioned Dick Walsh, now directing the new league's Eastern Conference, to seek approval from FIFA for the abandonment of offside.[56] "The American public wants as many scoring opportunities in a game as possible," proclaimed general manager Bill Bergesch. "The elimination of the offside rule is a means of giving the offense a chance to build up the opportunities." He also, interestingly, suggested exploring the possibility of a blue line similar to that used in hockey.[57] Though Bergesch did not reference the venture in Scotland, his counterpart at the Baltimore Bays, Clive Toye, wrote Zurich to inquire about its previous experiments.[58]

Having deemed the project in Scotland unconvincing, FIFA had turned its attention to an alternative amendment. This would waive offside at free-kicks, an effort meant to alleviate the "irritating waste of time" that resulted from teams setting up defensive walls.[59] Upon receiving approval to hold trial matches from the IFAB, Zurich invited its constituents to participate in the new endeavor:

> National Associations who wish to organise themselves such experimental matches or authorize such matches to be played by their clubs are invited to request the authorization from FIFA for doing so. Where thought necessary FIFA would appoint an observer for such matches and National Associations will be asked to submit a report to FIFA on the experiences made during these matches.[60]

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[56] Gerald Eskenazi, "Generals Ask League to Change Offside Ruling to Speed Game," *New York Times*, May 3, 1968.
[57] "Offsides Rule Under Attack," *Frederick (MD) News*, May 3, 1968. On the similar ideas of Robert Hermann of the St. Louis Stars, see Robert R. Hermann to Dick Walsh, May 23, 1968, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[58] Helmut Käser to Joseph J. Barriskill, June 5, 1968, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[59] IFAB Minutes, June 15, 1968, p. 7, SSBRA; "Report on FIFA's Activities," *FIFA News*, August 1968, 159.
[60] "Decisions by the International Football Association Board," *FIFA News*, June 1968, 113.

Woosnam, ever pliant on the issue of reform and soon to become a league executive, proved most eager to answer the call.

On January 21, 1969, Woosnam visited the FIFA House alongside Kurt Lamm, administrative assistant of the USSFA. The two were scheduled to meet with Stanley Rous and Helmut Käser, the president and general secretary, to discuss an array of pressing issues. Among these was a potential summer tournament in the United States featuring European clubs. Though FIFA's internal summary of the visit made no mention of any discussion about the Laws of the Game, future correspondence indicated that the topic was given ample attention. Lamm left feeling optimistic about the "most interesting conversation," while Woosnam sensed that the door was open to rule modifications at the upcoming International Cup.[61] Within weeks, he petitioned the national federation, per FIFA protocol, to submit an application to this end. The opportunity, he suggested, was both one of national prestige – such was the value of a FIFA-sanctioned project – and international duty. By providing the game's "guardians" with an occasion to study the effects of the proposed rule change at length, the United States could contribute to the betterment of football.[62] President Robert Guelker displayed a similar internationalist mindset, calling the proposed venture a "timely opportunity to stimulate a healthy and wholesome climate concerning future development of world-wide soccer." Such was his

[61] Helmut Käser, internal notice, January 21, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Kurt Lamm to Helmut Käser, January 29, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[62] Phil Woosnam to Joseph J. Barriskill, February 7, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.

belief, in fact, that he pledged to conduct a research project on the venture in the event that FIFA gave its blessing.[63]

Earning approval for the project proved to be a taxing process. A mistaken impression of which particular reforms were permissible led the USSFA to request two modifications that had long been seen as intolerable. After an exhaustive back-and-forth between administrators on both sides of the Atlantic, Zurich finally gave the green light to Woosnam, whom Rous described as "a most persistent gentleman."[64] The news was greeted by an elated and surely relieved Guelker. "This is somewhat historical in the sense that this is the first major attempt to officially experiment with a proposed rule change that FIFA has granted the USSFA," he wrote in his 1969 presidential report.[65] The NASL evinced similar enthusiasm, returning to the theme of the nation's role in the international football setup. "Fans of other countries are just like American fans… they want goals. And several other countries are pressing for change," noted Woosnam. "What we start here in America can be for the benefit of the rest of the world."[66]

Though the United States was not starting a revolution per se – the motivation for the free-kick experiment was borne out of a longstanding discussion among the game's

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[63] Robert M. Gulker to Helmut Käser, March 12, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[64] Stanley Rous to Helmut Käser, circa January–February 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Stanley Rous, February 13, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Joseph J. Barriskill, February 13, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Stanley Rous to Denis Follows, February 26, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Stanley Rous to Helmut Käser, March 6, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Robert M. Gulker to Helmut Käser, March 12, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Phil Woosnam to Joseph J. Barriskill, April 11, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to James P. McGuire, April 29, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[65] USSFA Reports, 1968–69, p. 1a, LHOF.
[66] North American Soccer League, press release, April 11, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

global administrators – its "soccer men" understood their work in relation to broader patterns.[67] As Guelker noted in his post-tournament report, submitted in partial fulfillment of a specialist's certificate in education at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville:

> Because of this vast international scope, there is a constant need for inquiry and research for new ways and means to update methods of play to meet the demands of an ever changing society in order to maintain a high standard of attractive and entertaining soccer for spectator appeal and support. Because the trend of modern soccer clubs and national teams has been towards negative soccer, i.e., defensive soccer, leading soccer authorities around the world are concerned for the future welfare of the game.[68]

Tellingly, he dedicated part of the opus's second chapter to a review of the trial matches occurring elsewhere, particularly in Greece, where the free-kick amendment was tested on an extended basis with positive results.[69]

The American project kicked off to an inauspicious start. The first trial match between visiting English sides West Ham United and Wolverhampton Wanderers did not lead to any drastic changes, though the lackluster crowd at Baltimore's Memorial Stadium was treated to a fine exhibition of football and the attacking vibrancy of

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[67] Helmut Käser to Robert M. Guelker, August 20, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

[68] Robert M. Guelker, "Can an Experimental Rule Change with No Offside on Free-Kicks Provide Noticeable Change in Methods of Play Which Would Further Enhance Development of Soccer-Football?" (specialist's certificate report, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, 1970), p. 1, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

[69] Ibid., pp. 6–11, 21–23. Further suggestive of the collaborative atmosphere is the fact that Guelker relied upon FIFA to provide information about the experimental matches played elsewhere. Robert M. Guelker to Helmut Käser, July 16, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Robert M. Guelker, August 6, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Robert M. Guelker to Helmut Käser, August 11, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Robert M. Guelker, August 20, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

Hammers striker Clyde Best.[70] By tournament's end, however, Guelker had seen enough of an improvement to advocate continued experimentation. The amended rule, he noted in his study, resulted in an increased number of scoring opportunities and fewer stoppages in play; what is more, a number of players seemed to take a positive view of the change.[71]

The comments of participants were, in truth, somewhat varied. Guelker issued a survey to the five participating teams – Aston Villa, Kilmarnock, and Dundee United took part in the tournament in addition to those aforementioned – that asked for feedback on an array of categories. These ranged from the level of excitement and tactical implications to the mood and temperament of players. The sixty-two replies Guelker received – Villa reportedly failed to return their forms – indicated some contradiction. Though many had favorable reactions to the individual categories, a majority did not advocate a permanent rule alteration. The reasons cited ran the gamut from the difficulties it would create for referees to increased jostling and jockeying in the penalty area. Some simply adopted a traditionalist point of view, aptly summed up by Dundee United's Ian Mitchell. "I have played soccer for many years," indicated Mitchell, "and I am unwilling to see any change in the rules." If that response was dispiriting to Guelker,

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[70] "New U.S. Format For Soccer Plays To Empty Seats," *New York Times*, May 4, 1969; "Wolves Edged in Debut, 3–2," *Kansas City Times*, May 3, 1969. The former article referenced the amendment specifically; the latter, perhaps deeming it of too little consequence, did not give it a mention. For a more favorable first impression, see Guelker, "Can an Experimental Rule Change," pp. 11–13, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

[71] Guelker, "Can an Experimental Rule Change," pp. 67–75, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC. For the reactions of Joseph Barriskill and Phil Woosnam to the project, see USSFA Reports, 1968–69, p. 19, LHOF; Phil Woosnam to Helmut Käser, June 30, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

Kenny Cameron's would have been more to his liking. "Anything to improve the game," wrote the striker and teammate of Mitchell.[72] Käser, who had been eagerly awaiting the analysis, read it with "much attention" and made note that it was the only report of its kind. He also requested additional copies, pledging to circulate the findings to the FIFA referees committee.[73]

EXPERIMENTAL CONVERGENCE

As the United States experimented with the laws, similar efforts took place across the pond. The English Football Association received approval from the Board to use a system during the 1971 Watney Mann Cup in which players could only be adjudged offside within their opponents' penalty area.[74] The initial reaction, noted the *Times* (London), was one of "general satisfaction," though participating clubs remained less than enthusiastic.[75] This did not deter the FA from pursuing the matter further and, the following year, the Anglo-Italian Cup and the Metropolitan (London) Football League received permission to conduct experiments.[76] The English weekly *Goal*, a staunch advocate of reform, welcomed the news, and Ken Aston lent additional support to the

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[72] Guelker, "Can an Experimental Rule Change," pp. 41–66, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.
[73] Helmut Käser to Phil Woosnam, July 7, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Robert M. Guelker, April 14, 1970, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.
[74] IFAB Minutes, June 19, 1971, p. 17, SSBRA.
[75] "Offside Trial Satisfactory," *Times* (London), August 2, 1971; P.J. Drewe, "An Experiment with the Offside Law," *FIFA News*, June 1973, 213.
[76] IFAB Minutes, June 10, 1972, p. 10, SSBRA.

need for trial matches. "If we are to make progress," wrote the chairman of the FIFA referees committee, "somebody has got to make a move for the good of the game."[77]

To the north of England, similar plans for reform were fashioned. The impetus came from a group of Scottish managers, who sought to restrict offside to the final eighteen yards of the pitch. Though the matter spurred fervent internal debate – archrivals Celtic and Rangers led the discontents, in part because an amended domestic law would render them ill equipped for European competition – the Scottish Football Association applied for and received sanction from the Board to carry out experimental matches in the League Cup and the Drybrough Cup.[78] This was not enough to satisfy one observer, who wrote the *Glasgow Herald* to advocate that the amendment be extended to the league season.[79] Journalist Ian Archer, for his part, expressed cautious optimism about the project. "It can produce a fluent game," he noted. "But we have still to see what the great defensive tacticians have up their sleeves if the pace becomes too hot."[80]

Reform in the United States developed in much the same vein. In 1972, the NASL sought the Board's permission to conduct an offside experiment the following season.[81] Within weeks of the latter's Vienna meeting, the league abruptly asked that the eighteen-yard trial be applied instead to the current campaign. That the NASL was willing to

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[77] "Offside: What We Wanted… We've Got," *Goal*, January 22, 1972, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.
[78] "League to Ask for Off-Side Change," *Glasgow Herald*, March 20, 1973; Raymond Jacobs, "Old Firm Oppose Offside Scheme," *Glasgow Herald*, March 29, 1973; "League Told Think Again," *Glasgow Herald*, April 5, 1973; John Downie, "Old Firm Cash in on Three Early Meetings," *Times* (London), May 26, 1973; IFAB Minutes, June 23, 1973, p. 16, SSBRA.
[79] Carmichael, letter to the editor.
[80] Ian Archer, "Drybrough Cup Could Bring in £100,000 Plus," *Glasgow Herald*, July 30, 1973.
[81] IFAB Minutes, June 10, 1972, p. 10, SSBRA.

institute a change in the middle of its program, despite the confusion it would cause for managers, players, and spectators, provides some indication of the pressure it felt to grow interest.[82] Whether feeling generous on account of the *Heurigen* wine and *Apfelstrudel* they recently enjoyed or simply worn down by the sheer persistence of Woosnam, the game's "guardians" acceded to the request.[83] Publicly, the Welshman struck a euphoric tone. "By opening up the play with this change in the offside law, we feel that spectators will be treated to a more exciting and enjoyable brand of soccer," he told the media. Privately, however, he betrayed a sense of unease, writing the league's owners and general managers to ensure their cooperation. "I hope," he noted, "that the change we have made will not be regarded as a signal for clubs and, in particular, coaches to adopt defensive tactics."[84]

The results were far from promising. Players simply crowded the two eighteen-yard areas, leaving a sizeable midfield gap reminiscent of the Edinburgh experiment nearly a decade earlier. Yet the league pressed on, moving the offside line to thirty-five yards the following season. Before a ball had been kicked, Woosnam celebrated the switch as "revolutionary" and, six matches into the venture, he evinced even greater

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[82] James P. McGuire to Helmut Käser, June 23, 1972, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Phil Woosnam to All General Managers, June 27, 1972, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC. Ironically, the league had scrapped its efforts to the same effect in March, reasoning that there was insufficient time to make preparations before the start of the season the following month. Phil Woosnam to Owners and General Managers, March 17, 1972, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Phil Woosnam to Kurt Lamm, April 14, 1972, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

[83] IFAB Programme, June 7–11, 1972, SSBRA; René Courte to James P. McGuire, June 26, 1972, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

[84] Alex Yannis, "Offside Rule Change by Soccer League Cuts Infraction Area," *New York Times*, June 27, 1972; Phil Woosnam to Owners and General Managers, June 27, 1972, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

cheer.[85] "From conversations with players, coaches and club officials, I can report that the offside law in this experimental form has proven to be extremely beneficial to the game," he gushed. "It is our belief that further experimentation should be carried [out] by additional major leagues."[86]

As the seventies reached their midpoint, those leagues were starting to cool on the matter. Despite the fanfare the Metropolitan project generated in London, it left much to be desired. Players found it difficult to adapt to the amended law and, perhaps more important, the experiment led to a decline in scoring.[87] In Scotland, too, Ian Archer's volt-face was indicative of dwindling optimism. As Stanley Rous led a cadre of legislators to a "desperately cold and bleak" Hampden Park for the 1973 League Cup final, Archer painted an equally cold and bleak portrait of the eighteen-yard experiment. "The League Cup under this rule," he wrote, "has failed to bring any extra goals, produce any vast alterations in styles of play, or generally commend itself to the majority of either managers, players, or spectators." Though the match produced a "romantic ending" to the tournament, this had, for Archer, less to do with the amendment and more to do with an inspired Dundee, which combined its "usual geometrical approach" with the "necessary ingredients of bravery and stamina" to surprise a favored Celtic.[88]

When the trial came up for reconsideration the following year, Archer was quick to make his opinion clear. "If the experiment goes ahead, the cut and thrust of midfield

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[85] Alex Yannis, "Rule Change Aids Soccer Offense," *New York Times*, March 20, 1973.
[86] Phil Woosnam to James P. McGuire, June 5, 1973, USA Correspondence, Box 1973–76, FIFADC.
[87] Drewe, "An Experiment with the Offside Law," 213–216.
[88] "Sir Stanley to Study Offside Experiment," *Times* (London), December 13, 1973; Ian Archer, "Celtic Set to Add to Stein's Amazing List of Successes," *Glasgow Herald*, December 15, 1973; Ian Archer, "Modern Dundee Display Brings Romantic Ending to Curious Tournament," *Glasgow Herald*, December 17, 1973.

play will disappear, the game will degenerate into a series of long balls played from one penalty area to another and skill will be replaced by coarse, repetitive kick and rush," he complained. "What is left may be more exciting – at least until cynical managers discover ways to play boringly and defensively under its regulations – but it will not be football."[89] The Scottish Football Association (SFA) seemed to agree and dropped the matter from the agenda of the IFAB's 1975 meeting at the Gleneagles Hotel. As Grant Russell notes, with literary panache that warrants quoting in full, "After a five-course dinner, wine, liqueurs and cigars, no proposal was submitted by the SFA for the board to vote on. The idea, like the gentlemen's after-dinner smoke, evaporated into the air for good."[90]

OTHER EXPERIMENTS

If the explanatory power of the offside venture is limited, one would do well to keep in mind other evolutionary parallels. The revised system for tabulating league standings, pioneered on a big-time scale by the NPSL and later adopted by the NASL, was framed initially as a "radical" departure from international norms. Indeed, it trebled the value of wins from two points to six and awarded bonuses for goals scored. Given that there was more to be gained from each contest, the system also encouraged greater fluctuation in the weekly table. This ensured supporters whose teams were languishing at the bottom a glimmer of hope until the very end of the season. Though the setup did not work as well as intended in its inaugural campaign, the following two years produced

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[89] Ian Archer, "Offside Plan Must Be Turned Down," *Glasgow Herald*, August 6, 1974. See, too, Ian Archer, "Celtic to Win Untimely Old Firm Final," *Glasgow Herald*, August 3, 1974.

[90] Grant Russell, How the Scottish FA Tried to Revolutionise the Offside Law, *STV*, April 1, 2011, http://www.sport.stv.tv/football/clubs/celtic/240624-how-the-scottish-fa-tried-to-revolutionise-the-offside-law.html.

more attacking football. For Woosnam, the cause was clear enough. "It is our view," he informed Helmut Käser, "that this incentive does produce a change in attitude by both players and management."[91]

The umbrella body had no provisions that addressed the point system a league might adopt, giving national federations the autonomy to set their own domestic standards.[92] Nonetheless, many observers remained skeptical of the new scheme, FIFA public relations and press officer René Courte going so far as to scoff that it was "merely embarrassing."[93] Others, however, proved more welcoming. FIFA executive committee member Mihailo Andrejevic and FA director of coaching Allen Wade went so far as to pen editorials advocating reform along American lines in the umbrella body's monthly bulletin. "Is it fair that in a hard, continuously changing match where the two teams take the lead in turn (2:1, 2:2, 2:3, 3:3, 4:3, 4:4, and finally 5:4 or sometimes 5:6 is the score) that the goals scored by the losing teams are not given any value and absolutely no consideration?" asked the former. "Eliminating this unevenness in awarding points should entice the coaches and experts away from their dull, defensive tactics towards new accomplishments in goal productivity."[94]

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[91] Shav Glick, "Radical NPSL Scoring Idea Fails Purpose," *Los Angeles Times*, June 28, 1967; "More Soccer Goals," *Sedalia (MO) Democrat*, May 14, 1968; Phil Woosnam, "The Point System Used in Professional Soccer in the USA," *FIFA News*, September 1969, 237. Phil Woosnam to Helmut Käser, June 30, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

[92] Helmut Käser to Joseph J. Barriskill, February 19, 1968, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Phil Woosnam, September 29, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

[93] "Wolves Coach Angry Over Point System," *Van Nuys (CA) News*, May 21, 1968; René Courte, "Editor's Notes," *FIFA News*, August 1969, 201; Andrew Dettre, "Defensive Football and Points or Goals," *FIFA News*, September 1969, 232–35.

[94] Mihailo Andrejevic, "Modern Football – The Reasons for the Deterioration in Football and the Ways to Arrest It," *FIFA News*, August 1969, 202–05; Wade, "Reflections on the Future of Football," 377–79.

Without hesitation, Woosnam penned his own response. In a letter to Courte that was ultimately published as an editorial in *FIFA News*, the Welshman reflected upon what he believed had been a fruitful American project. "In principle and practice, there has been a measure of success," he noted, citing an increase in goals scored during the period between 1967 and 1969. "In these days when the public is constantly seeking new interests, it is our belief that extended experiments should be conducted with other suggested law changes in order that we might maintain the interest and enthusiasm of the public despite the counter attractions."[95] Others seemed to agree. France and Brazil put theory into practice and experimented with their own versions of the setup. The Soviet Union, sharing its ideological foe's distaste for the creditable draw, used penalty kicks to separate teams that finished on level terms.[96] Though the ultimate coup for points reformers had to wait some two decades – when, on the eve of the 1994 World Cup, FIFA raised the value of group-stage wins to three – these earlier parallels should not be ignored.[97]

A more contentious point was the use of substitutes, long permitted by the USSFA in a patent break with international protocol. America's "soccer men" had sought exemption from FIFA rules against replacement players on account of the country's "peculiar problem" of promotion. Among the unique challenges was a citizenry that understood free substitution as an athletic norm. "It is most unfortunate that the American

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[95] Phil Woosnam to René Courte, September 3, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Woosnam, "The Point System Used in Professional Soccer in the USA," 235–37.
[96] "A New Points System in Force," *FIFA News*, March 1973, 112; "Rewards for Attack," *FIFA News*, July 1973, 288; "Bonus," *FIFA News*, September 1975, 452. On the American aversion to draws, see Allison, "The Curious Role of the USA in World Sport," 107–08.
[97] Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 253.

people have been educated into accepting substitution in [their own] sports," noted Joseph Barriskill in a letter to Zurich. "The promotion of soccer football in the United States can be fully exploited only if we use what we think are proper methods to compete with these other sport attractions."[98] The national body also drew attention to the physical demands that a ninety-minute match posed to players who worked during the week. It also highlighted the scores of potential youth participants, whose interest in the game was contingent upon the opportunity to actually see match action.[99]

If American administrators felt beholden to their circumstances, it is clear that others did as well. In fact, the flouting of FIFA regulations was such that general secretary Kurt Gassmann wrote Zurich's national affiliates in 1955 to register his unease. Woven into his anxiety, however, was a degree of openness to evolution. Enclosed within Gassmann's letter was a fact-seeking questionnaire that asked respondents to indicate the reasons for any nonconformity. If these were deemed legitimate, the umbrella body would propose modified laws "with a view to adapt them to the practical requirements of today."[100]

Reform followed soon thereafter. In 1957, the IFAB indicated "sympathy with the underlying principle" of substitution and, the next year, permitted national associations to allow the replacement of one goalkeeper and one field player per match due to injury.[101] The United States continued to play under its own version of the law – partly the result of

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[98] USSFA Reports, 1954–55, pp. 6–7, LHOF.
[99] USSFA Minutes, July 7–8, 1956, pp. 9–10, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, p. 43, LHOF.
[100] USSFA Reports, 1954–55, pp. 5–7, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 7–8, 1956, pp. 9–10, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, p. 43, LHOF; USSFA Reports, 1967–68, p. iii, LHOF.
[101] IFAB Minutes, June 15, 1957, p. 2, SSBRA; "The Laws: From 1863 to the Present Day."

disagreement within the national federation, partly the result of an inability to police the violations occurring under its auspices – but it was hardly alone.[102] A follow-up questionnaire to FIFA members in 1965 found that over one-quarter were in noncompliance with international statutes by permitting substitutes for reasons other than injury.[103] Denis Follows, secretary of the English FA, also made note of a prevailing attitude among many European countries that a third substitute should be allowed. "Some people who ought to know better really have queer ideas," he sulked in a letter to Rous.[104]

Whether the same could have been expected of the NASL, given the newness of the league and the non-football background of its pocketbooks, is debatable. In any case, Zurich did not look kindly upon the league's regulations, which allowed a third substitute. The USSFA sought another exemption in 1968, this time on account of the extreme heat of the summer season, but FIFA held firm.[105] Not one to give up the matter at the first impasse, Woosnam boldly followed up by asking permission to experiment with five replacement players and free substitution. After making its way through the institutional corridors and landing on the agenda of the IFAB's 1974 meeting in Bavaria, the proposal was rejected. The re-entry of withdrawn players caused particular discomfort, as it would have, according to Käser, "changed fundamentally the character

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[102] USSFA Minutes, July 14–15, 1962, pp. 42–44, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 11–12, 1964, pp. 32–33, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 3–4, 1965, pp. 47–48, LHOF; USSFA Minutes, July 13–14, 1968, pp. 55–56, LHOF; Erwin A. Single to René Courte, December 8, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; John Lamb to Helmut Käser, October 16, 1970, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.
[103] "Substitution of Players," *FIFA News*, October 1965, 5–6.
[104] Denis Follows to Stanley Rous, February 28, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.
[105] Helmut Käser to Joseph J. Barriskill, July 4, 1968, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC; James P. McGuire to Helmut Käser, July 19, 1968, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.

of the game."[106] Yet football's "guardians" did liberalize to some extent, deciding to allow substitution not only for purposes of injury, but also for tactical reasons.[107] This change was not as sweeping as some might have liked, but neither was it reflective of complete obstinacy.

THE LEGACY OF "AMERICANIZATION"

Though reform was as much an international phenomenon as it was a national one, it became synonymous with "Americanization." Why was this the case? Part of the answer may lie in the fact that America's "soccer men" dipped into the oratory of national uniqueness when it suited their case. The hegemonic status of several athletic pastimes, as they would have it, was something that other countries simply did not encounter. "You must remember that soccer football is not the National sport in the United States," noted USSFA executive secretary Joseph Barriskill in a 1955 letter to Zurich regarding substitutes. "The promotion of soccer football in the United States can be fully exploited only if we use what we think are proper methods to compete with these other sport attractions."[108] This was complicated by the fact that said attractions were more than willing to adapt their rules to meet spectator interest. Major League Baseball, for instance, lowered the pitcher's mound, tightened the strike zone, and – in the case of the American League – introduced the designated hitter. The National Basketball

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[106] Phil Woosnam to Kurt Lamm, November 23, 1973, USA Correspondence, Box 1973–76, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Kurt Lamm, January 14, 1974, USA Correspondence, Box 1973–76, FIFADC; IFAB Minutes, July 9, 1974, p. 10, SSBRA.
[107] IFAB Minutes, June 17, 1967, p. 4, SSBRA; "World Championship – Jules Rimet Cup 1970 in Mexico," *FIFA News*, February 1968, 34–35.
[108] USSFA Reports, 1954–55, pp. 6–7, LHOF.

Association banned zone defenses and added a twenty-four-second shot clock.[109] Feeling the pressure of a competitive sport and leisure marketplace when he took the helm of the NASL several years later, Phil Woosnam picked up Barriskill's line of thinking. Despite assuring FIFA that he was not trying to "Americanize" the game, he hinted that tinkering was of special import to the United States, adding, "Perhaps it is difficult to appreciate the thinking of the American nation and its people."[110]

Members of the media perpetuated notions of national uniqueness, framing rule alterations as a slice of "pure Americana."[111] The United States was responsible for some ideas about reform, but lack of coverage of the experiments abroad implied that the American experience was singular. The omission of comparative analysis was accompanied, on at least one occasion, by overt misreporting. The *New York Times* wrote in 1972 that the NASL would be the first league to use the eighteen-yard offside experiment, in spite of the trials that had already occurred in Britain.[112] In subsequent years, toying with the laws was amalgamated into a broader narrative of "Americanization," which centered around the "razzmatazz" of the professional circuit,

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[109] Phil Woosnam to Erwin A. Single, May 26, 1970, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 133–34, 145–46.

[110] Phil Woosnam to Helmut Käser, March 3, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC. See, too, James P. McGuire to Stanley Rous, March 13, 1969, USA Correspondence, Box 1965–69, FIFADC.

[111] Fred Rothenberg, "Soccer Czar Woosnam Gave Sport American Kick," *Sarasota (FL) Herald-Tribune*, August 22, 1977. See, too, Smits, "Americanization of Soccer Begins." On exceptionalism as a journalistic pantomime, see Buffington, "Us and Them."

[112] Yannis, "Offside Rule Change By Soccer League Cuts Infraction Area." Amazingly, the far less internationally-oriented *Irving (TX) Daily News* made note of the trials taking place in the Watney Mann Cup and the Anglo-Italian Cup. "Fans Can't Kick over Offsides Rule," *Irving (TX) Daily News*, June 28, 1972. See, too, coverage of the Edinburgh experiment in "Offside Rule Here to Stay," *Utica (NY) Daily Press*, June 21, 1965; "Soccer Offside Rule Retained by Officials," *Lincoln (NE) Star*, June 21, 1965.

the quota systems introduced to limit participation of foreign players, and the development of the indoor game.[113]

Perhaps most important was that Woosnam simply became increasingly brazen over time. By his own admission, reform "had never seemed to be of great importance" upon his arrival to the United States. It was his experiences in the years thereafter that convinced him that football would do well to take a cue from American pastimes. The Welshman turned much of his attention to increasing the size of the goal, which he hoped would produce an astonishing return rate of six per match. Yet few within the football establishment seemed inclined to entertain such notions, despite Woosnam's claims to the contrary.[114] "Smaller goalkeepers would be just as effective," joked Rous.[115] A Canadian journalist, for his part, took the idea to its illogical extreme: "Why not widen the goals to 40 yards to give forwards more to shoot at? Or better still, have two goals at each end, so that the goalie is kept guessing which one the opposition will shoot at?"[116]

Woosnam's timing did not help. Although many pundits predicted that the 1970 World Cup would be mired by continued cynicism, the tournament produced, as FIFA's

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[113] See, for instance, Beyer, "Soccer Promoters Singing New Tune"; Smits, "Americanization of Soccer Begins"; Kenneth Denlinger, "Soccer Moguls Kick About Zeroes," *Washington Post*, June 16, 1968; "NASL Begins Full-Scale Campaign to Americanize Soccer," *Lakeland (FL) Ledger*, May 1, 1977; Alex Yannis, "When It Rains It Pours: Another Soccer League," *New York Times*, April 11, 1978; Alex Yannis, "Soccer League Makes Headway in Americanization," *New York Times*, April 23, 1978; Kenneth Denlinger, "NASL: World Cup Stepchild," *Washington Post*, June 23, 1978.

[114] Phil Woosnam to Erwin A. Single, May 26, 1970, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC; Yannis, "Offside Rule Change By Soccer League Cuts Infraction Area"; IFAB Minutes, June 23, 1973, p. 16, SSBRA; Helmut Käser to James P. McGuire, July 5, 1973, USA Correspondence, Box 1973–76, FIFADC; Phil Woosnam to Kurt Lamm, November 23, 1973, USA Correspondence, Box 1973–76, FIFADC; Kurt Lamm to Helmut Käser, December 28, 1973, USA Correspondence, Box 1973–76, FIFADC; Helmut Käser to Kurt Lamm, January 14, 1974, USA Correspondence, Box 1973–76, FIFADC; IFAB Minutes, July 9, 1974, p. 10, SSBRA.

[115] Rous, "Referees and Trends in Modern Soccer," 38.

[116] Denlinger, "Soccer Moguls Kick About Zeroes."

technical report put it, "a remarkable standard of attacking football." Brazil, whose joie de vivre approach exemplified this standard, rounded off the tournament by defeating an Italian team that had become synonymous with tactical caution. This was enough to convince onlookers that reform was unnecessary.[117] "Whatever doubts I may have had of changes in the Laws of the Game were completely eradicated by the beautiful technical ability of the World Cup teams in Mexico," noted the U.S.'s own James McGuire. The Welshman's persistence, in turn, became a source of consternation. "We in this country are getting somewhat tired of people trying to change the entire concept of the game as we know it," grumbled McGuire.[118] In later years, the grievances against Woosnam's "grandiose ideas" became more pointed still. "We have done everything possible to work with [the NASL], but regardless of what we do, it is never enough. It will never be enough until such time as we subjugate our association to his league."[119]

McGuire's prediction turned out to be prescient, indeed. In an effort to rid the game of draws, the NASL instituted a golden-goal, extra-time period and a system of penalty kicks. The latter, apparently not dramatic enough in its traditional format, was revised so that players would dribble toward goal rather than simply shoot from twelve yards. "One hundred and forty-eight countries around the world are smart enough not to put things like this into the game," quipped Eddie Firmani, a former Italian international and well-traveled NASL manager. "We're getting further and further from the game as it

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[117] Fédération Internationale de Football Association, *Technical Study of the 1970 World Cup*, 20–29, FIFADC. See, too, Rous, "Some Reflections on Mexico 1970," 232–51.
[118] James P. McGuire to Hemut Käser, July 31, 1970, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC. See, too, Helmut Käser to Phil Woosnam, July 7, 1970, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.
[119] James P. McGuire to Helmut Käser, May 8, 1972, USA Correspondence, Box 1969–72, FIFADC.

is played in the rest of the world." As league representatives contemplated such other proposals as narrowing the goalposts and instituting commercial stoppages, FIFA threatened expulsion.[120] Though the NASL ultimately folded on its own in 1984, its legacy continued to loom large. When the United States was selected to host the 1994 World Cup, anxieties quickly surfaced that the tournament would be one of oversized goals, four-quarter matches, and the ubiquitous television timeout.[121]

CONCLUSION

The concerns of the USSFA rules and revisions committee in 1950 were well founded. Throughout the first half of the century, many of the game's domestic backers showed few qualms about deviating from international custom. St. Louis took to its own version of the game, as did the nation's universities and the American Soccer League, a northeast circuit during the 1920s and 1930s. Their efforts received firm backing from the country's press, exemplified by one piece in the *Fall River Globe*, which proclaimed, "The game should be Americanized and must be Americanized if it is to be popular with the sporting public of the U.S." Hence, football was subjected to, among other deviations, a hockey-inspired penalty box and the kick-in.[122]

If American reform was a point of marked difference throughout this earlier period, important parallels began to take shape in the mid-1960s. With the game stuck in a malaise, administrators across the globe sought to conjure up a response. Though

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[120] Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 151–216, quote 179–80.
[121] John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, "What's Left When the Circus Leaves Town? An Evaluation of World Cup USA 1994," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 13, no. 3 (1996): 247; Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 229.
[122] Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 15–80, quote 66.

America's "soccer men" occasionally couched theirs in terms of the unique wants of domestic audiences, they were well attuned to the fact that others, too, desired a fast, spectacular game. Geoffrey Green's words rang true, indeed: "All the world loves a goal."[123]

It was the method for producing said goal that led to disagreement. The policy prescriptions of the game's tradition-laden overseers were, at times, frustratingly timid for American observers intent on revolution rather than evolution. For example, FIFA's post-England '66 debrief simply placed the onus back on managers and teams to "work to develop higher standards of penetrating attacking skill."[124] But the game's global brass did betray a willingness to tinker with the laws – and particularly with offside, which was trialed under multiple iterations. The NASL was not a trendsetter on this end, though it quickly assumed a prominent place in the surrounding discussion. On such other matters as point systems and substitution, too, the United States experienced points of overlap with its counterparts abroad.

The "Americanization" of football's laws, when placed in a transnational context, was not uniquely American. Rather, it was part of a broader effort to attract spectator interest in an increasingly competitive sport and leisure marketplace. The flow of administrators, managers, and players across borders, coupled with the coverage rule experimentation received in the monthly bulletin *FIFA News*, drove a global dialogue on

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[123] Green, "Soccer Needs a Pied Piper to Draw Fans back to the Terraces."
[124] Fédération Internationale de Football Association, *Technical Study of the 1966 World Cup*, 5–6, FIFADC.

reform.[125] The differences that emerged between American visions for the future and those of others were more of degree than fundamental principle. If the United States strayed into an offside position, it was only fractionally adrift. And, for the first several years of its professional venture, it may have even been level with the rest of the world.

[125] The thoughts here have been influenced by Tony Collins's groundbreaking work on non-kicking football codes. See Collins, "Unexceptional Exceptionalism."

Conclusion

"Americans," writes historian Allen Guttmann, "have always liked to think of themselves as unique, have been drawn to the flattering notion that America is, indeed, an exception."[1] The historiography of football in the United States has been largely informed by exceptions – from the game's struggle to make cultural inroads, to the social spaces in which it has flourished. Yet the case of exceptionalism can be overstated. Even the presence of the word "soccer" in the American lexicon is not as unique as one might assume. A derivative of "association football," the term appears to have originated in late nineteenth-century Britain, where it was not perceived as an Americanism. Between the 1960s and 1980s, its use became so widespread that it was nearly interchangeable with "football."[2] The purpose of this project has been to examine such wrinkles in the narrative – the exceptions to exceptionalism, so to speak. In so doing, it has shifted focus from the realm of sport culture to athletic institutions.

The United States Soccer Football Association has rarely been considered as a topic of scholarship in its own right. The voices of its administration long sat quietly in minute books, annual reports, and personal correspondence until David Wangerin's pioneering work began to bring them out. Fewer accounts still have attempted to connect the national body to the game's broader configuration. It is telling that in David

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[1] Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*, 91.

[2] Stefan Szymanski, "It's Football not Soccer" (paper, 2014), http://ns.umich.edu/Releases/2014/June14/Its-football-not-soccer.pdf.

Goldblatt's sweeping global history of football, the United States plays but a marginal role.[3]

Both the national body and its relationship to the international football system are brought to the fore here. The narrative is built around the closed-door, intra- and inter-governmental conversations that drove the game's development. And it is at this national-international nexus that the idea of exceptionalism starts to become problematic. The social and developmental links that America's "soccer men" established with their colleagues abroad contrasted sharply with the country's history of athletic isolationism. What is more, their ideas – both with regard to the commodification of sport and the manners in which football might be made more interesting – bore resemblance to those of their colleagues abroad.

If exceptionalism is at the hub of this project, globalization is always nearby. Globalization is, of course, a topic that has generated its own reams of literature, much of it trying to define the idea itself. Perhaps most fitting here is sociologist Anthony Giddens's concept of "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa."[4] Indeed, the story takes place against the backdrop of myriad global flows – administrators, players, clubs, ideas, and capital. A confluence of interests brought together American and European officials in laying the foundation for the

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[3] David Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2008).
[4] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 64. As a starting point to the voluminous literature on globalization, see George Ritzer, *Globalization: A Basic Text* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Manfred B. Steger, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

country's developmental scheme. The financial ambitions of sport-minded entrepreneurs resulted in a host of foreign teams being imported for "summer spectaculars." And the era of cynicism that bogged football down spurred a transatlantic dialogue on how best to reinvigorate it.

That the USSFA took part in these flows set it apart from the majority of American sport. As Andrei Markovits and Steven Hellerman astutely note, "None of the American professional sports, their leagues and their teams have ever entered a structure in which their existence is governed by a supranational body, à la FIFA in soccer."[5] One is hesitant to draw conclusions about other American athletic institutions, then, based on this study alone. It warrants noting, however, that in her work on the Olympic Games, historian Barbara Keys argues that "involvement in sport affairs pulled American sports promoters into a multinational network, inculcating an internationalist outlook, subjecting them to international rules and norms, and undermining their often fervent belief in isolationism."[6]

Whether the football system "pulled" America's "soccer men" into an internationalist mindset is subject to debate. Given that a number had immigrated to the United States, they may have already been sensitive to a broader reality. This is not to suggest that they did not take pride in being part of their new country, a sentiment eloquently captured by George Fishwick upon his participation at the centennial of the

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[5] Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 45.

[6] Keys, "Spreading Peace, Democracy, and Coca-Cola®," 168. Keys's book provides a similarly nuanced account of the relationship between nationalism and internationalism. Barbara J. Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

Football Association of England. "No greater thrill could have come to anyone, when I had the honor and privilege to represent the United States at the hundredth anniversary of the English FA," he wrote. "To pay tribute to the country of my birth, as President of the National Body of the country of my adoption, is a distinction and occurrence that could only happen once in a century."[7]

LIMITATIONS

Fishwick's remark raises an interesting question about just who America's "soccer men" were. A certain picture begins to emerge here, but it is far from a complete one. David Wangerin has described the national body, at least as it stood at the middle of the twentieth century, as "a fellowship or a fraternity, a safe haven for those hyphenated-Americans too stubborn or too passionate to abandon such a patently foreign pursuit."[8] There is an ethnographic component to his work, as there is to this project, but still more can be done to connect personal histories to ideas and ideologies about sport.[9] The feasibility of such a project is partly contingent upon what the national body's archives hold. Meeting minutes and annual reports are valuable, as is correspondence with Zurich; but these only tell part of the story, and a more complete portrait would emerge from the conversations that members of the USSFA had outside of the governmental forum.

The term "soccer men" is, in itself, indicative of a governing structure that was, like the one in Zurich, male-dominated. The conspicuous absence of women from the

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[7] USSFA Reports, 1963–64, p. 3, LHOF.

[8] Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 101–02.

[9] Alan Tomlinson's research on FIFA over several years provides a good model in this regard. See, as a starting point, Tomlinson, "FIFA and the Men Who Made It"; Alan Tomlinson, *FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association): The Men, the Myths and the Money* (London: Routledge, 2014).

national body's annual convention is suggestive of an institutional makeup that was, at the time, anything but exceptional. Yet it is clear that, despite a lack of representation within the national body's bureaucracy, women played a part in the game's growth. Joseph Triner's reference to the "countless thousands of men, yes, and women" who spurred national development provides little insight into the nature, extent, or timeframe of female involvement, but the USSFA's 1971 yearbook may provide a clue.[10]

Amid the effort to reposition the game as a "safe" and healthy one for America's youth, the USSFA's annual published two endorsements of interest. The first, a full-page message from Princess Grace (née Kelly) of Monaco, received prominent placement in the document, preceding Erwin Single's presidential report. "It is a wonderful sport," wrote Kelly. "It not only develops a child physically, but stimulates in him a sense of team spirit so important to his well-being."[11] The second, a letter penned by a woman introduced to readers as "an American mother," promised that football would "channel the boy's interest in a wholesome direction" and called on the citizenry to rethink the oft-held perception that the sport was violent. "Like most mothers, my first thoughts of soccer were that my son would be hurt in such a dangerous game," noted Pat Arbus. "Let me say that there is no more danger in this game than there is in any other sport. Any game and any team is only what its leaders let it become."[12]

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[10] USSFA Minutes, June 25–26, 1960, p. 37, LHOF.

[11] Grace Kelly, letter, in 1971 *Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Clive Toye (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1971), 3, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 23, LL.

[12] Pat Arbus, letter, in 1971 *Soccer Yearbook*, ed. Clive Toye (New York: United States Soccer Football Association, 1971), 158, Garcia Collection, Box 2, Folder 23, LL.

If women are largely absent in this account, so, too, are non-Western voices. America's relationship to the international football system is considered primarily with reference to their European counterparts – key players, to be sure, but hardly the only ones. A number of South American associations viewed themselves as pivotal actors virtually from their inception, while many of America's fellow footballing "peripheries" grew in bureaucratic stature following the Second World War.[13] Future research would do well to connect the American experience to a broader range of institutions and cultures and, where possible, engage in a multilingual approach.[14] The monthly bulletin *FIFA News*, which regularly published articles written by administrators and journalists from across the globe, provides some insight into the conversations that took place in non-English-speaking locales. However, it only scratches the surface and, as a production of the umbrella body, must be read with the potential motive in mind.

MORE JUNCTURES: A FIN-DE-MILLÉNAIRE STORY

The story here ends in 1974, a point at which football stood on the cusp of its economic globalization.[15] Scholars have done well to tease out the junctures that have taken place after this point. Some have focused on the evolution of national playing styles, which have become ever less distinct. The free flow of players and managers

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[13] Dietschy, "Making Football Global?"

[14] An insightful collection of recent books has examined the cultural and administrative footballing experiences of Africa and Asia. See Paul Dimeo and James Mills, eds., *Soccer in South Asia: Empire, Nation, Diaspora* (London: Frank Cass, 2001); Paul Darby, *Africa, Football and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism and Resistance* (London: Frank Cass, 2002); Peter Alegi, *African Soccerscapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010); Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann, eds., *South Africa and the Global Game: Football, Apartheid and Beyond* (London: Routledge, 2010); Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann, eds., *Africa's World Cup: Critical Reflections on Play, Patriotism, Spectatorship, and Space* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013).

[15] Dietschy, "Making Football Global?," 281.

across borders has arguably fueled an aesthetic mélange, prompting essayist Eduardo Galeano to express concern about "obligatory uniformity."[16] Others have analyzed fan cultures, which have been impacted by the American mode of packaging and presenting sport. The concrete terraces of yesteryear have been replaced by all-seater stadia, complete with such trimmings as jumbotrons and loudly piped music. At the same time, America's football landscape has adopted some of the game's traditional elements. After a brief fling with "Americanization" upon its establishment in 1993, Major League Soccer (MLS) now features teams with classic names and crests – hence, the transformation of the Kansas City Wizards into Sporting Kansas City. This is not to suggest a drift toward global homogeneity. Cheerleaders remain standard in many an MLS venue; and at stadia across the pond, to borrow from Lincoln Allison, "the cult of the pie has kept popcorn at bay."[17]

Perhaps most discussed has been football's hyper-commodification. Ironically, the commercial ethic against which members of the USSFA railed in the 1960s has become a fundamental driver of the modern game. The trend in this direction started well before the mid-1970s. Concurrent to the push in some American quarters to commercialize the game, similar ideas cropped up elsewhere. In Britain, the blight of

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[16] Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, *Globalization & Football* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), 31–62; Galeano, *Soccer in Sun and Shadow*, 244. On labor migration patters, see Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Jonathan Magee and John Sugden, "'The World at Their Feet': Professional Football and International Labor Migration," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 26, no. 4 (2002): 421–37.

[17] Peter Donnelly, "The Local and the Global: Globalization in the Sociology of Sport," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 20, no. 3 (1996): 239–57; Allison, "The Curious Role of the USA in World Sport," 14–115; David L. Andrews and George Ritzer, "The Grobal in the Sporting Glocal," *Global Networks* 7, no. 2 (2007): 135–53; Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, "Recovering the Social: Globalization, Football and Transnationalism," *Global Networks* 7, no. 2 (2007): 166–86; Markovits and Rensmann, *Gaming the World*; Scott, "From NASL to MLS."

dwindling crowds prompted some to advocate a new modus operandi. As early as 1960, the *New Statesman* noted a sentiment among some that "the game could benefit from the spirit of a Marks & Spencer."[18] Stanley Rous recognized that the show business side of sport could help fund the grassroots.[19] And Geoffrey Green of the *Times* (London) suggested that European observers should not dismiss outright the NASL approach to development. "Here is a viable product they feel, and the whole operation is to be tackled as a promotional and merchandising effort on a scale comparable to what – to use their own words – a major automotive or soap company, for example, undertakes when it attempts to 'condition' the public to its new product," he began. "We may be wrong to be cynical about it. The American, when he puts his mind to it, has a way of getting things done."[20]

If some frowned upon the egregious forms of American bombast, certain aspects of the game's packaging and presentation proved palatable. This was especially true as spectators started to demand a more comfortable stadium experience.[21] Journalist Norman Fox seemed altogether pleased with his attendance at a match in Los Angeles, where "the hamburgers were hot, the beer cold and there were no arrests."[22] And Manchester United sought to bring the amenities of American venues to England, sprucing up Old Trafford with a dining club and glass-enclosed suites. "The idea is to

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[18] W. John Morgan, "The Revolution in Soccer," *New Statesman*, July 2, 1960, 296.
[19] Referees Addresses, September 18–19, 1962, p. 1, LHOF.
[20] Geoffrey Green, "U.S. Kicks Off in World Soccer," *Times* (London), February 25, 1967.
[21] Wilfried Gerhardt, "The 1974 World Cup in the Federal Republic of Germany," *FIFA News*, October 1969, 261.
[22] Norman Fox, "There's a Beautiful Future for Short Pants Football on the Other Side of the Atlantic," *Times* (London), May 29, 1976.

provide big business men in Manchester with an opportunity to give their overseas customers a good day out," noted manager Matt Busby. "There has been a tremendous rush for the boxes. They represent a pretty fair investment."[23] The use of business-speak was, in itself, indicative of a growing appreciation for sport as a commodity – and a foreshadowing of what was to come.

British outfits soon shifted from a model of "utility maximization" to one of "profit maximization," and their counterparts on the continent evolved along similar lines. As Richard Giulianotti summarizes:

> By the early 1980s, the leading clubs in northern Europe were beginning to employ brand marketing and merchandising in a more wholehearted fashion to maximize their revenues and keep up with competitors. Trackside advertising was revamped, shirt sponsorship was established, larger deals with shirt manufacturers were signed, corporate hospitality and conference facilities were created, and executive boxes were carved into the main stands.[24]

To what extent this commercial drift constitutes an "Americanization" is a question that has yet to be resolved. Markovits and Lars Rensmann identify the Pelé-led New York Cosmos, a glamor club from the glamor days of the North American Soccer League, as the first true global sports team.[25] Featuring a collection of the world's best players, the

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[23] "English Try Yanks' Idea: Swank Club," *Spokane (WA) Spokesman-Review*, August 15, 1965.
[24] Richard Giulianotti, "Playing an Aerial Game: The New Political Economy of Soccer," in *The Political Economy of Sport*, ed. John Nauright and Kimberly Schimmel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 23. The literature on football's commercial drift is comprehensive. See, for instance, Anthony King, "New Directors, Customers, and Fans: The Transformation of English Football in the 1990s," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 14, no. 3 (1997): 224–40; Osvaldo Croci and Julian Ammirante, "Soccer in the Age of Globalization," *Peace Review* 11, no. 4 (1999): 499–504; Rex Nash, "The Sociology of English Football in the 1990s: Fandom, Business and Future Research," *Football Studies* 3, no. 1 (2000): 49–62; Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round*, 681–773; Giulianotti and Robertson, *Globalization & Football*, 63–97; John Nauright and John Ramfjord, "Who Owns England's Game? American Professional Sporting Influences and Foreign Ownership in the Premier League," *Soccer & Society* 11, no. 4 (2010): 428–41. As a starting point, Peter J. Sloane's work remains a classic. Sloane, "The Economics of Professional Football."
[25] Markovits and Rensmann, *Gaming the World*, 32–33.

club lived up to its name by taking its allure around the globe on tours; closer to home, its posh home at the Meadowlands began to house once-blasé journalists and celebrities, including musicians Rod Stewart and Elton John.[26] More recently, the infusion of American capital into European football, coupled with the takeover of several major clubs by U.S.-based owners, may be further suggestive of an expanding American influence.[27]

Yet scholars have cautioned against conflating commercialization with Americanization. The shift to a for-profit model in Europe has not been counterbalanced by such regulatory mechanisms as salary caps and player drafts, which are standard features of the professional setup in the United States. This unmitigated acceptance of free-market principles, in turn, has led to a widening gap between haves and have-nots. Coupled with a system of promotion and relegation that sends unsuccessful teams into lower divisions, the European system looks more capitalist than the cartel-like structure of MLS.[28]

The most interesting aspect of football's fin-de-millénaire globalization, at least from an American perspective, may be its implications for the game's mainstream cachet.

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[26] Thom Satterlee, "Making Soccer a 'Kick in the Grass': The Media's Role in Promoting a Marginal Sport, 1975-1977," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 36, no. 3 (2001): 305–17; Markovits and Hellerman, *Offside*, 166–67; Wangerin, *Soccer in a Football World*, 187–88, 196–197. On the Cosmos in greater depth, see Gavin Newsham, *Once in a Lifetime: The Incredible Story of the New York Cosmos* (New York: Grove, 2006).

[27] Giulianotti and Robertson, *Globalization & Football*, 53; Nauright and Ramfjord, "Who Owns England's Game?"

[28] Allison, "The Curious Role of the USA in World Sport," 107–08; Giulianotti and Robertson, *Globalization & Football*, 54. On the economics of football in greater detail, including differences between the European and American models, see Stephen Dobson and John Goddard, *The Economics of Football* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Stefan Szymanski, *Money and Football: A Soccernomics Guide* (New York: Nation Books, 2015).

The country has long been defined by its aversion to the global game, one aptly captured by the status it earned as "FIFA's final frontier."[29] Today, football has doubtless made strides in the cultural psyche, despite claims that it remains a "boutique niche" yet to produce large-scale passion beyond a quadrennial interest in the World Cup.[30] Americans, it seems, are speaking the lingua franca of the ball to an extent they had not in previous years. This development will, inevitably, prompt scholars to revisit the exceptionalism thesis and add to an already rich dialogue on America's football experience through the lens of the office water cooler. They can – and should – be encouraged in this regard. They should also be urged to bring into play America's "soccer men," who open up an array of analytical vistas vis-à-vis national uniqueness. To borrow from historian Ian Tyrrell, "Many aspects of American history are left out or distorted in these narratives associated with exceptionalism."[31]

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[29] Sugden and Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football*, 203–22.
[30] Markovits and Rensmann, *Gaming the World*, 108–143. See, too, Andrei S. Markovits and Steven L. Hellerman, "The 'Olympianization' of Soccer in the United States," *American Behavioral Scientist* 46, no. 11 (2003): 1533–49.
[31] Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," 68.

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